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SOCIAL QUESTIONS OF TO-DAY

EDITED BY H. DE B. GIBBINS, M.A.

THE HOUSING
OF THE WORKING CLASSES

SOCIAL QUESTIONS OF TO-DAY

Edited by H. de B. GIBBINS, M.A.

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A series of volumes upon those topics of social, economic, and industrial interest that are at the present moment foremost in the public mind. Each volume is written by an author who is an acknowledged authority upon the subject with which he or she deals, and who treats his question in a thoroughly sympathetic but impartial manner, with special reference to the historic aspect of the subject.

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METHUEN & CO., 36 ESSEX STREET, W.C.

THE HOUSING
OF
THE WORKING CLASSES

BY
✓
EDWARD BOWMAKER, M.D.

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1895

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P R E F A C E

For more than fifty years the conditions, under which a large proportion of the Working Classes live, have attracted public attention. This seems difficult to realize in face of the present position, though it is none the less true that many attempts have been made to remove the more pressing evils. Bright among the records of the past stand out many heroic attempts in this direction, and many honoured names are to be found among the pioneers of the movement. The value of their efforts we cannot too highly appreciate, though the measure of their success fell far short of the noble aspirations they had in view.

To-day the work has passed out of the hands of the few large-hearted philanthropists and has assumed a *national* character, and with this change has come a vastly different attitude towards the problem. Where hitherto we found apathy, if not actual hostility, we find to-day hearty co-operation. Hence the last three or four years have been a period of unparalleled activity, and, what is perhaps more important, the efforts to establish a new and better condition have been general throughout the country.

Two factors have mainly contributed to this end; (1) the advance of Sanitary Science, and (2) the development of an altruistic attitude towards political and social questions,—each in its own sphere a part of that “forward movement” which has been so specially characteristic of the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The Sanitary Reformer is but beginning his work. Before him

10 Sept 51 H. W. S. 98

lie years of labour ere he can hope to have mitigated in some degree the present evils.

Other countries besides this are realizing the danger, and beginning to recognize the need for active measures in order to cope with the ever-increasing pressure. At the present moment America is profoundly agitated as to the conditions of her large towns and cities, and so serious has the situation become, that decided action cannot be long delayed. The enlightened policy this country has adopted must of necessity form the basis of similar action in that country.

Future action, at any rate so far as we are concerned, must very largely depend upon an individual sense of responsibility. Our legal machinery has been so far strengthened and simplified, that now all that remains is for an enlightened public opinion to complete the work. Without that substantial backing the various Authorities may even yet delay: with it they may be compelled to action. Delays are proverbially dangerous, but never more so than in this connection, and they must inevitably increase the obstacles to be encountered.

It is therefore necessary that we should know, not merely what the conditions really are, but how we may change them, and in what direction we may hope to achieve the best results. Difficulties will be encountered on every side, and conflicting interests will seek to thwart our intention. Not merely have we yet to overcome active opposition, but above all that *laissez-faire* attitude which is even more difficult to overcome. Popular superstitions and "vested interests" die hard, and before we can realize our ideal all the opposing elements must be converted into hearty and active co-operation.

The present volume is an attempt to present the whole case in as clear and concise a form as possible. The materials for the study of this subject are scattered through various journals and reports, and the object of this little work is to collect into something approaching a popular form information that might not otherwise be readily available.

For kind assistance and permission to use various plans etc. I am extremely indebted to the following gentlemen; E. Hoole, Esq. Architect, London; A. H. Davis, Esq. Birmingham; J. Corbett, Esq. Borough

Engineer, Salford; F. T. Turton, Esq. Liverpool; Frank Butler, Esq. Secretary to the Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes; W. H. Fox, Esq. Borough Engineer, Barrow-in-Furness; Walter Jackson, Esq. Secretary to the Artizans' Labourers' and General Dwellings Co. Limited; H. Wilkinson, Esq. Secretary to the East End Dwellings Co. Limited; and many others.

I am much indebted for the kind assistance of my friends Rev. J. Bentley and Mr. Robert Hyslop in revising the proof-sheets.

EDWARD BOWMAKER, M.D.

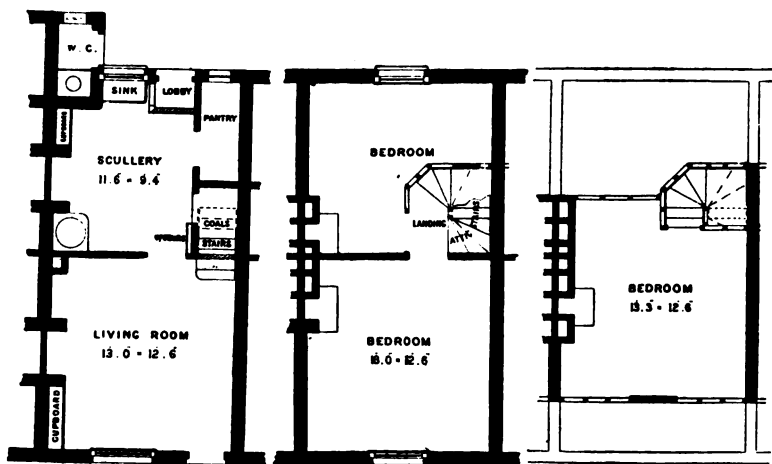
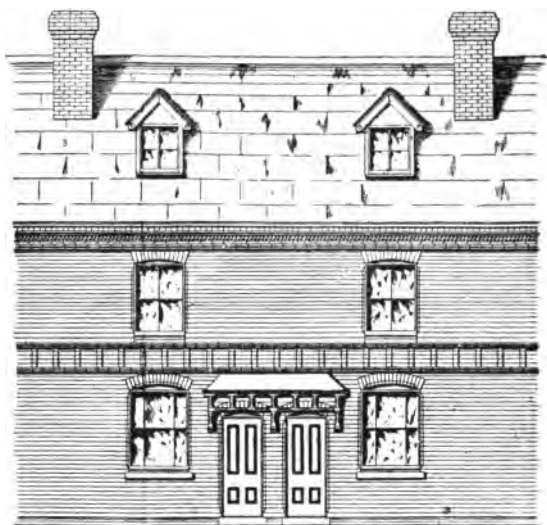
SUNDERLAND,

August 8th, 1895.

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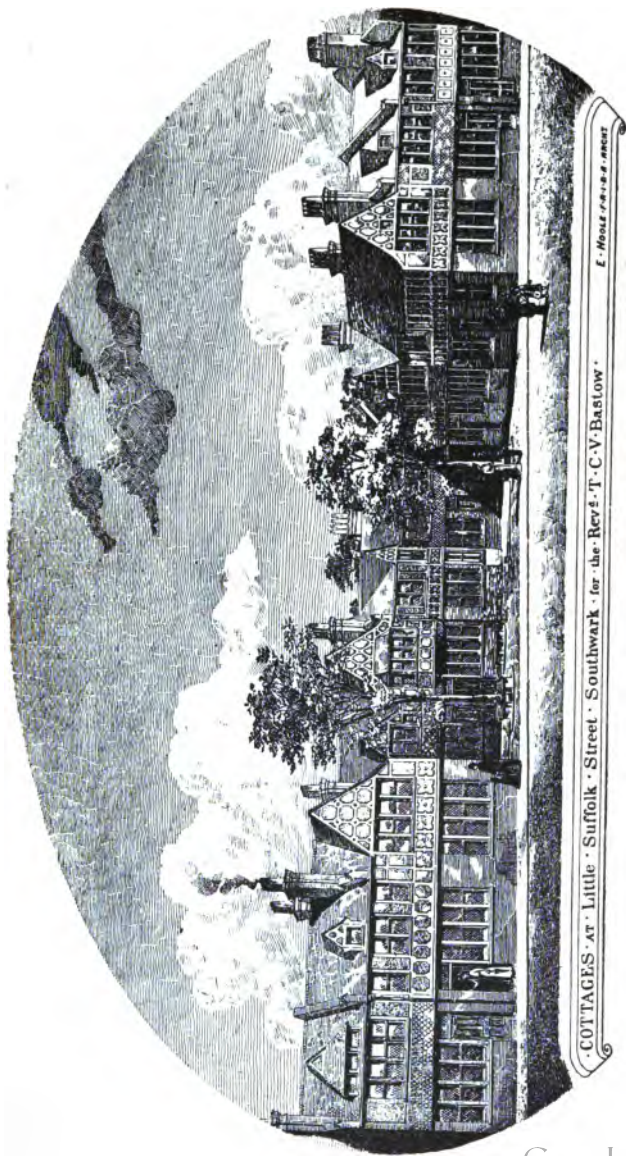


GROUND FLOOR.

FIRST FLOOR.

ATTIC FLOOR.

FIG. I. Birmingham Corporation. Workmen's Cottages.



COTTAGES at Little Suffolk Street, Southwark, for the Revd. T. C. V. Baslow.

FIG. II.

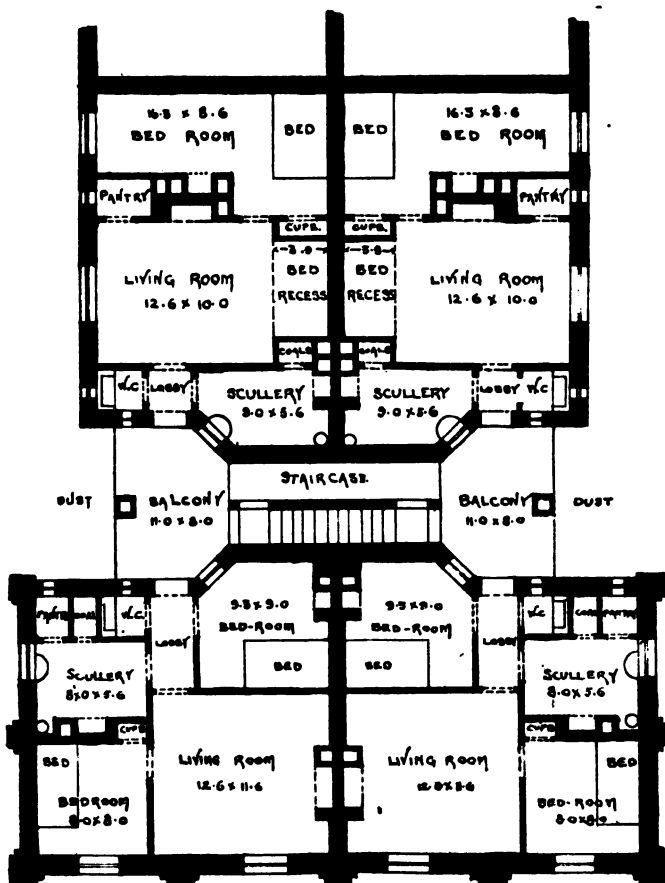


FIG. III. Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes.
Farrington Road Buildings.
(Illustrates Self-contained Dwellings).

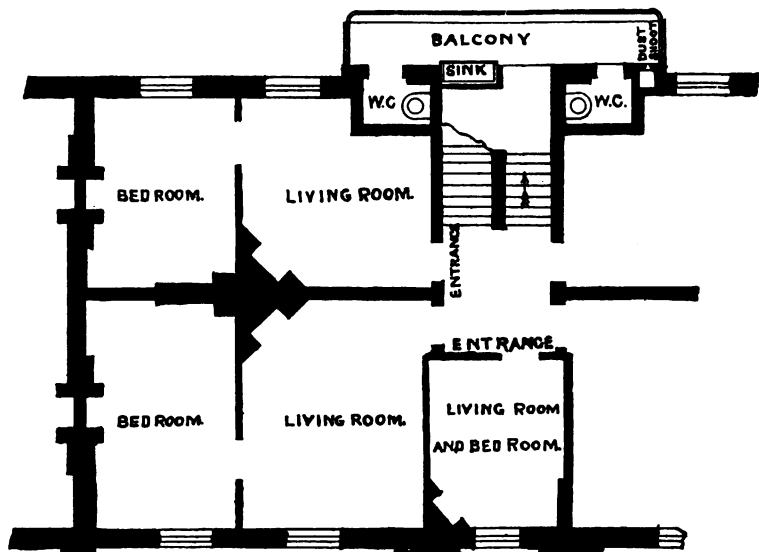


FIG. IV. East End Dwellings Company. Midhope Dwellings.
(Illustrates Associated Dwellings).

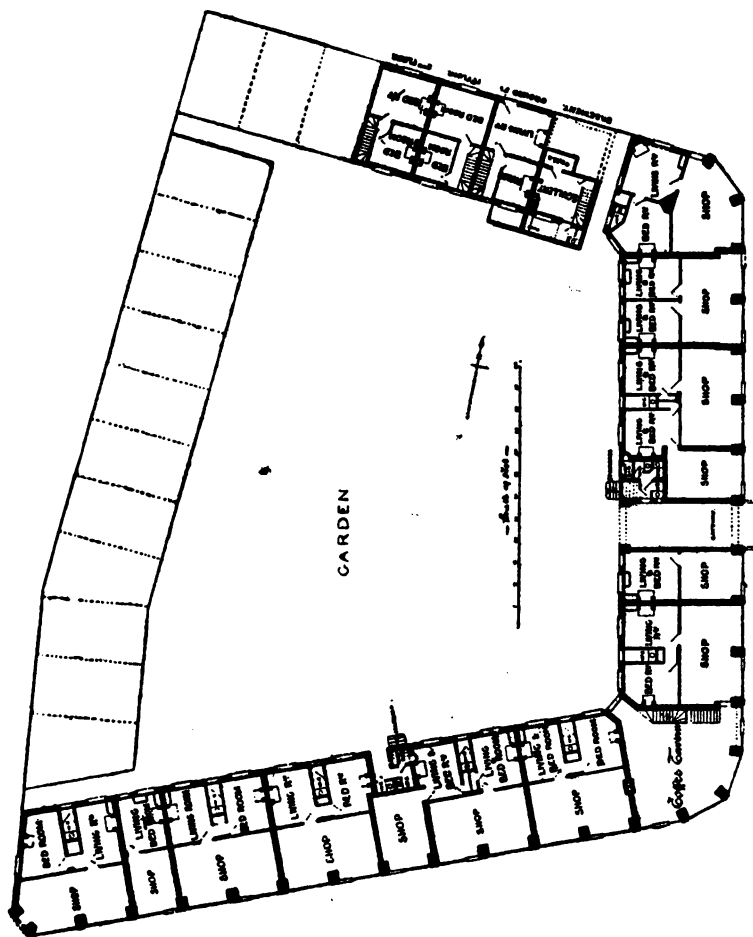


FIG. V. South London Dwellings Company Limited, Kennington Road, South Lambeth. (Ground Plan).

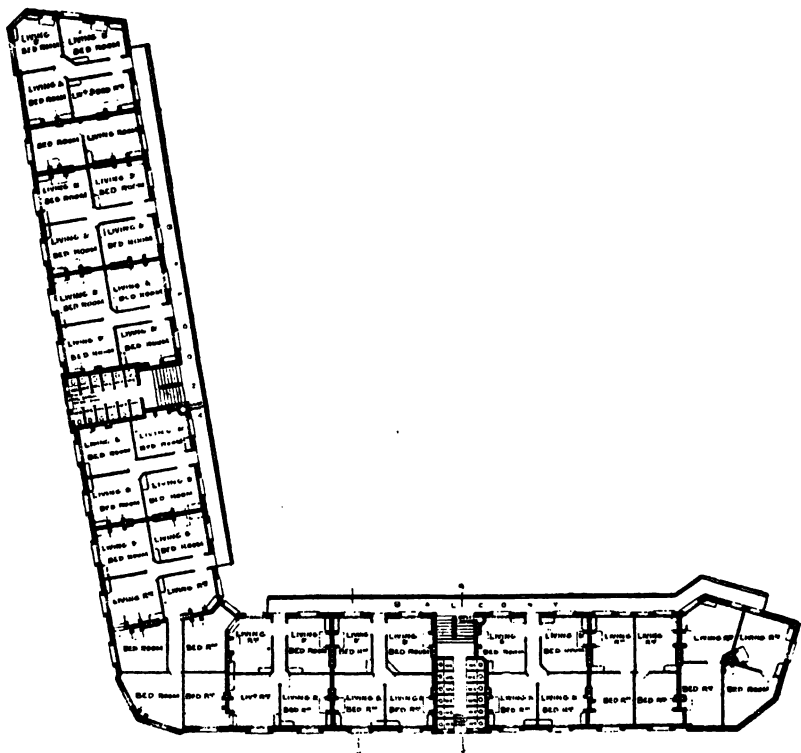


FIG. VI. South London Dwellings Company Limited, Kennington Road, South Lambeth, (1st floor Plan).

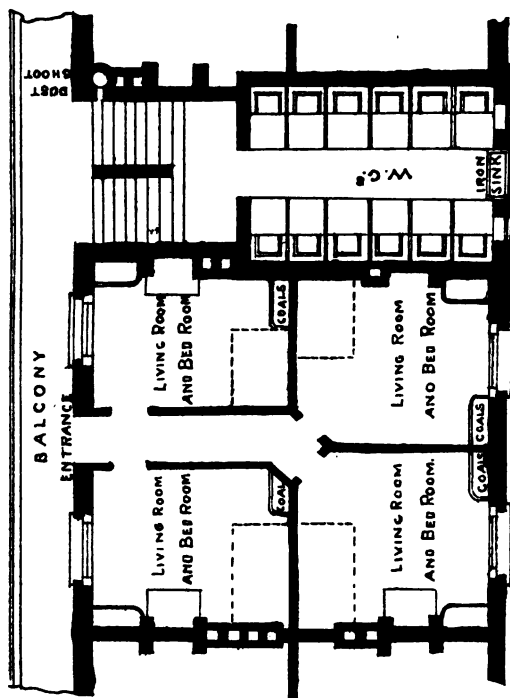


FIG. VII. South London Dwellings Company Limited, Kennington Road, South Lambeth. (Tenement Plan).

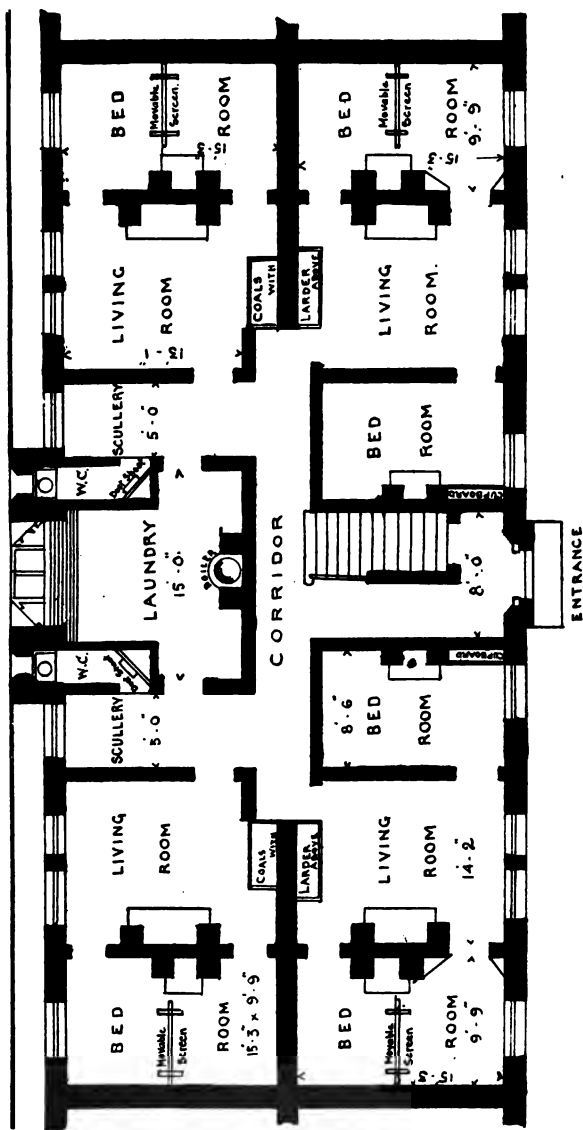


FIG. VIII. Liverpool Corporation. Workmen's Dwellings, Victoria Square.

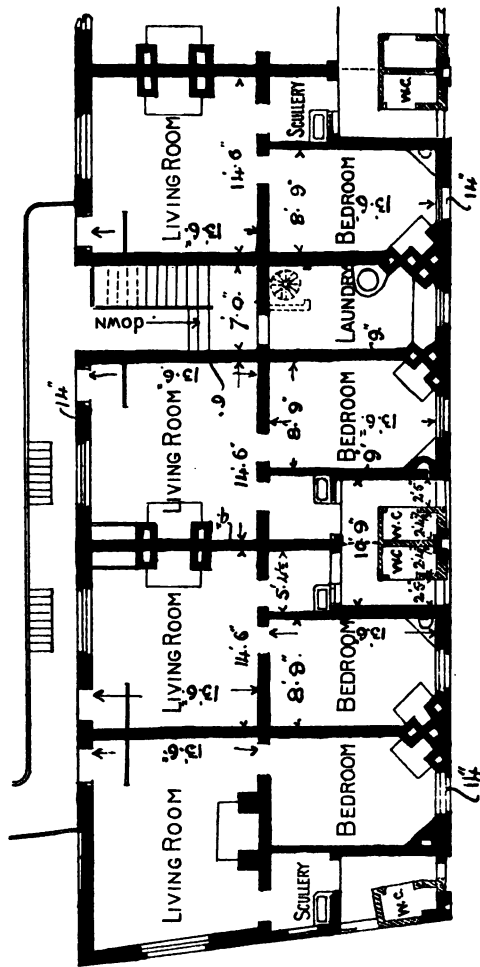


FIG. IX. Salford Corporation. Artizans' Dwellings.

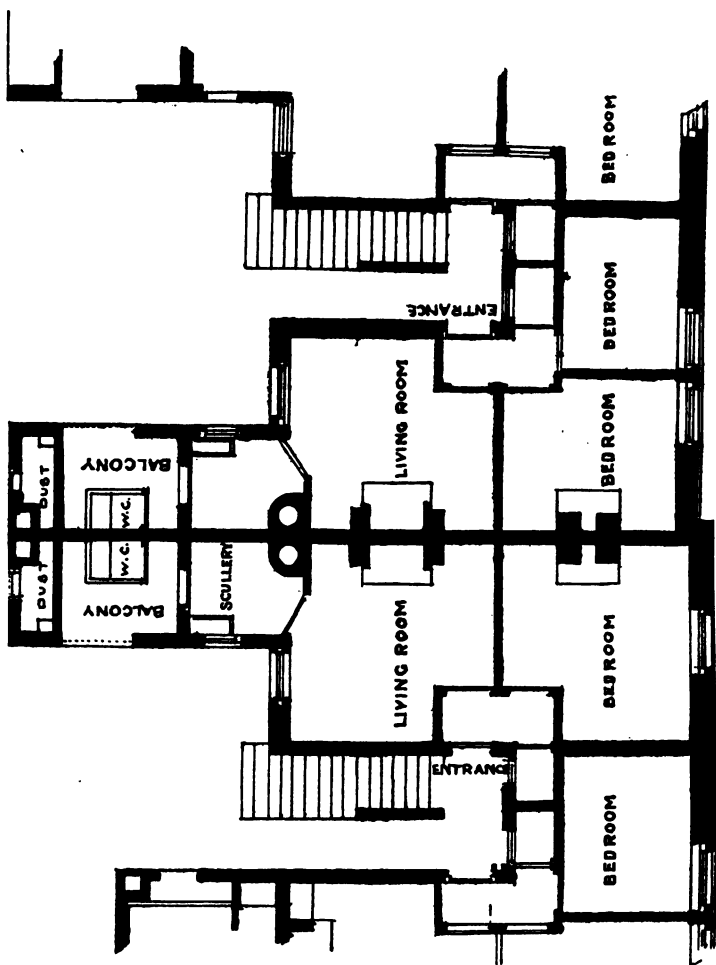


FIG. X. Barrow-in-Furness Corporation. Artisans' Dwellings.

This detailed floor plan illustrates the layout of the Model Lodging House, a large-scale residential building designed for efficiency and economy. The plan is oriented with a long, narrow section on the left, likely a veranda or walkway, and a main rectangular body on the right. The left side features a long, narrow section labeled 'LODGING ROOM WALKER' and 'LAVATORY' with a series of small, circular openings, possibly for ventilation or laundry access. The main body of the building is divided into several functional areas. At the top left, there are two 'LODGING LAUNDRY' rooms, each with a 'WALK' and 'UNWALK' area. Below these is a 'RESTAURANT LAUNDRY'. The central part of the plan is dominated by a large 'DAY ROOM' and a 'DINING ROOM', both with extensive grid patterns indicating seating or tables. A 'KITCHEN' is located between the dining room and the laundry areas. To the right of the kitchen is a 'BOILER' room. Further right are two 'GROCERY STORE' rooms. The plan also includes a 'HALL' and a 'REST ROOM' with a 'WALK' and 'UNWALK' area. The overall design emphasizes a high degree of organization and space utilization, typical of late 19th-century architectural planning for large-scale housing.

JOSEPH CORSETT,
Executive Director

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County Borough of Salford.
MODEL LODGING HOUSE.
 1892.

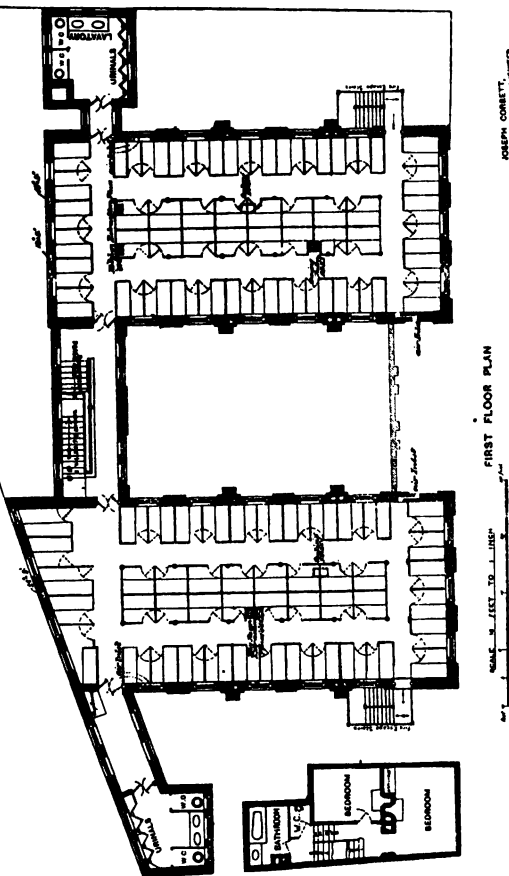
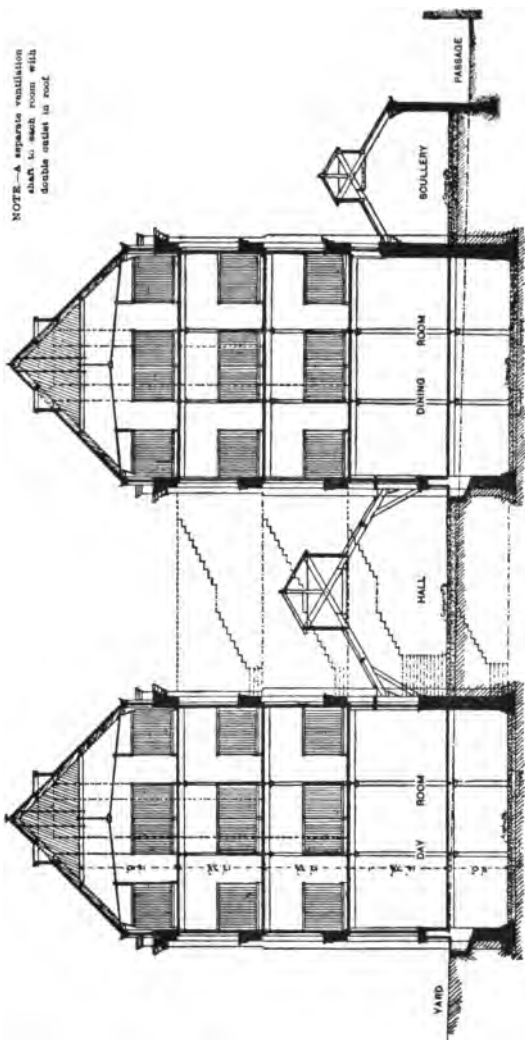
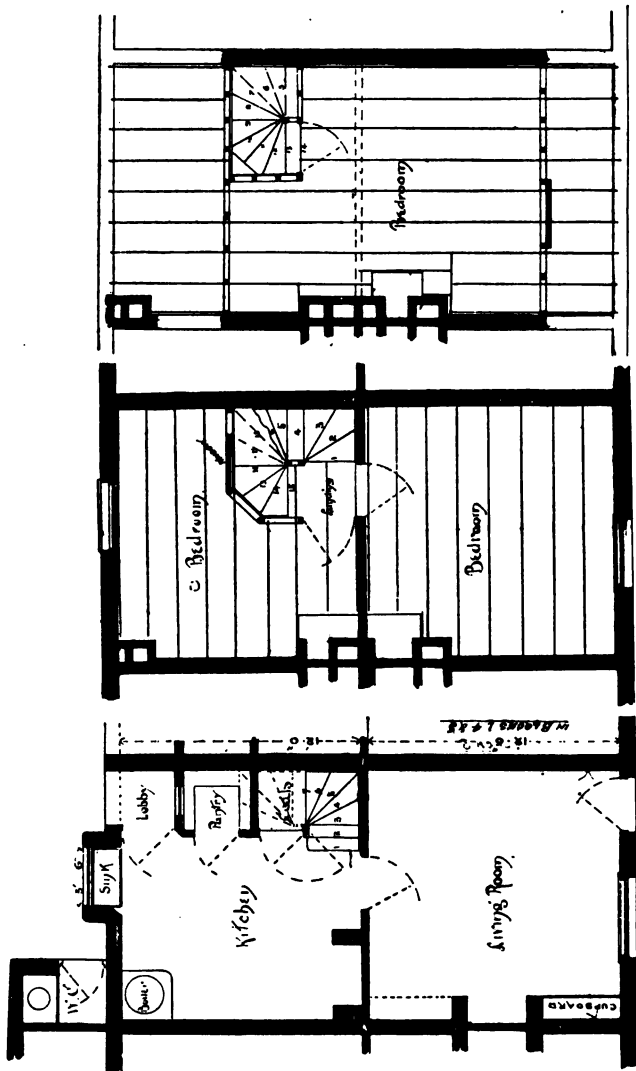


FIG. XII. Salford Corporation. Model Lodging House.



CROSS SECTION

FIG. XIII. Salford Corporation. Model Lodging House.



Birmingham Corporation. Workmen's Cottages.

THE HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES

CHAPTER I

THE EVOLUTION OF THE MODERN SLUM

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IN all ages and in every country, man has made for himself some protection from the weather, its heat or cold, its dryness or moisture. Whilst the essential need has ever been the same, many factors have been at work moulding the character of his dwelling. His habits and occupation, the climate of his country, the savagery and refinement of his nature, have left their impress on the construction of his habitation, and have determined its character. Thus it is, that, looking back upon the lapse of centuries, we see every gradation from the rude cavern shelter of prehistoric man to the magnificent palace of present civilization. The first habitations of men were such as nature afforded, caverns and crevices of rocks, hollows and thickets of forests, adapted to his purpose with a minimum of labour or design, and of the rudest possible description.

To these primitive shelters succeeded tents and wooden huts, which, though certainly an advance upon those described, were yet crude in ideal, and still more so in construction. The nomadic life of their occupants, necessitating the constant removal and re-erection of their dwellings, did much to prevent the development

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and elaboration of them. During prehistoric times, however, evidence of greater design and greater care in construction is plainly visible in the form of rude work in wood and stone. Primitive dwellings, such as we have mentioned, have in our own day been described as existing amongst the aboriginal tribes of Central Africa and the American Indians.

As men and communities developed, as they rose above a state of nature and began to cultivate the soil, more commodious and more durable habitations took the place of rude huts, tents and grottoes. The materials employed in their construction were more carefully selected; greater care and neatness was used in fixing them together; bricks of a primitive order were prepared of clay and earth first dried in the air, and then baked in fire; and stones were roughly dressed, and joined together at first without cement of any sort. The building of houses for themselves was followed by the erection of temples for their gods, who had hitherto shared their rude dwellings. Then architecture became a fine art; palaces took the place of rude huts of mud and reeds,—the rough trunk became the column, the vaulted cavern gave place to the dome. Up to the time when architecture began to take a more permanent form, the grouping together of several tents or huts of a tribe became the villages and towns of later days. Lack of sanitary arrangements in these primitive single-room dwellings was very largely compensated for by the continual change of site rendered necessary by the mode of life of these ancient people. And further, not only were the sites of their encampments most carefully chosen, but the free circulation of air around, and even sometimes under their dwellings, did much to

counterbalance the wretched conditions under which they lived.

The Egyptian dwelling, the earliest of historic times, was characterized by its massive proportions and substantial structure. The walls were of great thickness, and sloping on the outside; the latter a relic of the mud walls and mounds of their ancestors. The roofs were flat; and in the dwellings of the wealthier classes formed charming terraces. The houses of the poorer classes were much smaller, and of less elaborate design.

The substantial rectangular dwellings of the Hebrews differed but little from those of the Egyptians. Their construction was simple yet massive; the flat roof, as in the Egyptian houses, being used as a terrace, often charmingly decorated with plants and shrubs, and affording a cool and refreshing resting-place even in the hottest weather. The dwellings of the poorer classes differed from those of the wealthier citizens only in size and simplicity of detail.

The Grecian style of architecture had its origin in the rude wooden hut of prehistoric man, a shelter formed by the erection of posts in the earth, and the covering of them with transverse poles or rafters. The beginnings of this style of architecture were of the simplest nature,—copies of the older dwellings with the posts and beams reproduced in stone. Gradually, and out of such humble origins, grew the elaborate and decorated orders of Grecian architecture, which even now commands the admiration of the world.

Roman architecture followed on the models of Greece; though various modifications were made and new orders of decoration adopted.

Whilst the wealthier classes of both nations inhabited houses of spacious dimensions and elaborate construction,

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the poor people were huddled together in narrow streets of small and badly built houses. Such conditions, without doubt, seriously militated against the health of the people, but the open-air life and military system of the nations materially lessened the danger of overcrowding and lack of sanitation. Moreover, the wonderful system of drainage, the spacious baths for the use of the people, the enormous aqueducts conveying for their use an abundant supply of fresh and wholesome water, testify to this day that these ancient people knew, at least, the first principles of Sanitation and their application.

Passing on to the Dark or Middle Ages, we come to a sad page in the Sanitary,—or rather Unsanitary,—history of the world. Plague, pestilence, and famine testify with awful truthfulness, to the horrible conditions under which the people of these ages lived. The houses, at the best, were wretched hovels or mud huts, with floors strewed with rushes, which concealed the abominations of years. The streets were narrow, unpaved and dark, reeking with filth of all sorts. No attempt at drainage seems to have been made, if indeed such were ever thought of. To add to all this misery and overcrowding, the towns of those days were walled-in fortresses; and as the population increased, the absence of outlet necessitated further economy of space, and the evils we have named became enormously aggravated. As to the rural population, they, for the most part, inhabited mud hovels amid the morasses and tangled forests of the land; and to the misery of life under such conditions, constant feuds and warlike disturbances added untold burdens. This continual warfare, whilst contributing much to the sad lot of the rural population, did much, however, to diminish the evil of over-

crowding in the larger towns and cities. Moreover, as the development of a town or city at once marked it out as a prey for others, the sacking and burning which naturally followed necessitated the frequent renewal of those portions which were destroyed. Still the habits of the people, the conditions under which they lived, the precarious nature of their food supplies, more than counterbalanced any possible advantage that might thus have been gained, and fever, famine and plague probably contributed most of all to the reduction of the evil of overcrowding.

Such was the condition of affairs until the Great Fire of London in 1666. This terrible conflagration cleared away an enormous number of the wretched houses of that city; 81 out of 97 parishes within and 2 without the city boundaries being destroyed. In the process of reconstruction, not only were better houses erected, but wide streets took the place of narrow roadways, though Sir Christopher Wren's scheme for a model city was by no means realized. This much, however, may be said, that for the first time in the history of our country public attention was directed towards bettering sanitary conditions.

While no material advance characterized the seventeenth century, certain improvements took place which indirectly had a very great influence on the health of the people. Commerce and manufactures were developed; food became plentiful and more regular in supply; whilst the introduction of soap did much to encourage and promote personal cleanliness.

The 18th century, however, saw a yet further development of the forward movement. Better houses were erected, though still the rudiments of Sanitation were hardly, if at

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all, appreciated, and their application to the dwelling was certainly not understood. Despite this, the Black Death, the Sweating Sickness and the Plague finally disappeared, a result due, not to the development of Sanitary Science, but rather to the progress of civilization throughout the country.

At the beginning of the present century a wondrous change took place. The discovery of steam-power gave a fresh impetus to industry, and opened out avenues of trading previously untouched. New markets were naturally followed by increased importation and exportation, which in turn made wealth to accumulate and work become plentiful. With the increase of wealth and the fulness of work began that enormous increase of population which has continued ever since. As manufactories and workshops became multiplied in the larger centres, there began also that migration from the country to the towns which is still going on; of late years this depopulation of the rural districts has no doubt been very largely maintained by agricultural depression. These two factors,—the increased birth-rate and the migration of the rural population—have certainly been the foundation of the present overcrowded condition of our large towns and cities.

Up to this time manufactures of almost every description had been carried out on the domestic workshop system, under which a man worked in his own house or shop with one or more journeymen and apprentices. This system, however, came to an end with the establishment of large factories driven by steam-power. As land became more valuable and rents rose, these houses, which were originally intended for and used by *one* family, came to be let in tenements, with a family in each room, and

several families in each house. In addition to this, owing to the lack of municipal control, houses were erected on what had previously been the yards or gardens of the older houses, or in fact on any available land, until at the present day whole districts exist of narrow courts, with high tenemented houses on either side, approached from the street by a narrow passage or archway. This class of house has little yard accommodation, if indeed any at all; and in by far the large majority of cases no sanitary conveniences whatever. Moreover, there can be no back- or through-ventilation; and it is no wonder that such conditions make themselves felt in the health and lives of the people who have the misfortune to suffer under them. Such conditions have also been very seriously aggravated by the erection of houses for the purpose. According to evidence given before the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes in 1884, about 50 years ago "an agitation was on foot for the bringing in of building regulations, and the builders in order to anticipate them, made a rush to provide houses of the old and bad type." Here the evil was made doubly bad, not only was the design altogether faulty, but the rapidity with which the work was completed certainly did not favour careful workmanship, if indeed such were ever thought of.

The overcrowded condition of large centres has also been increased by the demolition of older property during the course of various Town Improvement Schemes. Workmen must and will live near their work, and the immediate effect of any considerable demolition of their dwellings, is the overcrowding of the neighbouring houses; and as the Report of the Commission says, "where the

demolitions are so extensive that the people have to depart, then new slums are created." The same result obtains in the demolition of property necessitated by the making or widening of public streets and thoroughfares, the erection of large public buildings, such as board-schools and the like, the construction of lines and stations in connection with the various railways companies. The Report deals very fully with the whole question of demolitions, and shows beyond a doubt that, however they may have been brought about, the original evil has not only been greatly increased by the actual numbers of persons displaced, but indirectly by the increase of rent required for rooms in the surrounding neighbourhood. These facts must be clearly kept in view, when carrying out any large and important scheme of re-housing which involves the pulling down of already existing property.

Another cause of overcrowding and unsanitary conditions is to be found in the relation which exists between landlord and tenant. Especially in the Metropolis does the system of 'house jobbers', 'house farmers', or 'house knackers' obtain; by which names, according to the Report quoted, are designated those persons who stand between the freeholder and occupier, and who fix and receive the rents of the tenement houses. Many instances are quoted where these middlemen are or were receiving upwards of 150 per cent. for their money, and Lord William Compton stated in evidence before the Royal Commission that "he shrunk from calling to account the middlemen for neglecting to repair, fearing that a rise in the rents would be the consequence of such a proceeding." Not only do the exorbitant rents, which such a condition of landlordism makes possible, increase in an enormous degree the over-

crowded condition of this wretched property; but the neglect of repairs or the provision of sanitary requirements on the part of these middlemen makes this class of property the worst with which we have to deal. No doubt there are many landlords, who, rather than suffer the annoyance and anxiety, which property of this class must always bring, or the difficulty there is of getting rid of tenants, ill-disposed to the payment of rent, and careless and destructive of the property, prefer thus to ease themselves of the burden of responsibility. This, however, can be no defence for a system which places tenants at the mercy of an irresponsible bully, whose sole object is extortionate gain.

The immigration of German, Polish and Russian Jews and people of other nationalities is another very serious cause of much of the overcrowding existing in large centres of population. There is a good deal of misconception on this subject, but it may be sufficient to state that 'the foreigners of England bear a smaller proportion to the total population than in any other first-class European country. Even London, the centre of attraction to foreigners, does not contain nearly so large a percentage of foreigners as any other great capital. The last census gave 1½ per cent. as the proportion of foreigners, excluding those born in England of foreign parents. It is not to the numbers, but to the distribution of these immigrants, that we must attribute their influence on the conditions of life in our large towns. For the most part they are massed together in certain districts; in London, Whitechapel forms their centre. This massing together of the foreign portion of the population is by no means true of the metropolis only, but holds good in regard to all the larger towns to which

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these unfortunate people drift. Altogether apart from the influence of their numbers upon the already crowded centres of population, their habits are such as to render them extremely obnoxious. Their ideas of cleanliness are extremely small, and their presence in large numbers has a very decided effect upon the sanitary condition of a district.

One other cause of much of the evil that exists must be mentioned—the neglect of duty on the part of Local Authorities. For more than 50 years this question of the Housing of the Working Classes has been recognized as urgent. Act of Parliament has succeeded Act of Parliament, and Royal Commissions have laid bare the sore. Powers drastic and sweeping have been conferred, and many have been the calls to action. By neglect and indifference confusion has become worse confounded. Not only has little inclination been displayed by Local Authorities for the improvement of existing conditions, but a sullen disinclination to avail themselves of the manifold powers for the prevention of their spreading.

CHAPTER II

THE EXISTING CONDITIONS IN RELATION TO THE LIVES AND HEALTH OF THE PEOPLE

IN order to prevent any misapprehension as to the scope of this chapter, it will probably be advantageous to point out at the very outset that it is not the intention of the writer to enter upon a detailed or elaborate recital of facts. In an Appendix will be found a list of works dealing with various aspects of the case, which will, if such be needed, describe the existing conditions better than any brief summary that might be given within the limits the writer can afford to this branch of the subject. For the benefit, however, of any one requiring this knowledge as condensed as possible, we give in the present chapter some considerations of certain main points of fact.

TENEMENT HOUSES may be described as those "occupied at weekly rents, by members of more than one family, but in which members of more than one family do not occupy a common-room."

Such a definition sufficiently distinguishes between tenement houses proper and common lodging-houses. The police, who have the supervision of the common lodging-houses but not of tenements, apply the common-room test for the purpose of distinguishing between these two classes of property. As we have pointed out, tenement property,

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in by far the great majority of cases, consists of houses originally intended for one family; and as must happen under such conditions, the sanitary state of these dwellings is uniformly bad.

With regard to the number of rooms composing these tenements, at the time of the last census, 52·3 per cent. of the separate tenements in England and Wales included less than five rooms. The proportions were, 4·7 per cent. of single rooms, 11·4 per cent. of two rooms, 12·3 per cent. of three rooms, and 23·9 per cent. of four rooms.

In London the proportion of tenements of less than five rooms was higher than for England and Wales, viz. 67·3 per cent.; a fact accounted for by the higher house rents which prevail in the metropolis. This is strikingly shown by the great difference that exists between the proportion of single-room tenements in London and in the rest of the country, the figures for London being 18·4 per cent. as against 4·7 for the latter.

With regard to the influence of such conditions upon the health of the people, we would point out that taking the Registrar-General's Annual Survey for 1892, in certain districts of the metropolis, the death-rate bore a certain relation to the proportion of families living in one-room tenements. Those groups of districts with the smallest proportion of single-room tenements had in 1891 a death-rate slightly over 19 per 1000; a district with 23 per cent. of single-room tenements had a death-rate of 23·6 per 1000; and where the proportion of such tenements was 30·6 per cent. the death-rate rose to 25 per 1000. The following statistics for the Berlin municipality substantially corroborate the figures for the metropolis. In Berlin in 1885.

73,000 persons were in the condition of families
inhabiting one roomed tenements.

382,000	"	"	"	2	"	"
432,000	"	"	"	3	"	"
398,000	"	"	"	4	"	"

Though the dwellers in one-room tenements were only $\frac{1}{4}$ th as numerous as those possessed of three, the rate of mortality was 23 times as high, and the actual number of deaths four times as great. Of the total population of 1,315,000, the 73,000 dwellers in single-room tenements supplied nearly one half the entire number of deaths, and the death-rate per 1000 for the year was no less than 163·5. In two-room tenements the death-rate was 22·5, in three rooms 7·5, and in four rooms 5·4 per 1000. A man therefore has 30 times greater chance of life if able to occupy a four-room tenement than the unfortunate occupant of a single chamber.

OVERCROWDING. The foregoing statistics whilst they bear eloquent testimony to the effect of tenement dwellings, as at present existing, upon the health of the occupiers, also indirectly witness to the dangers arising from overcrowding. The Report of the Royal Commission, in dealing with this phase of the question, quotes the words of the late Lord Shaftesbury, who, as the result of 60 years experience, says, "however great has been the improvement of the condition of the poor in London in other respects, the overcrowding has become more serious than ever it was." A case, typical of many others in the metropolis, was brought to light by an inquest held in Spitalfields concerning the death of a child aged four months. The child, who had died from suffocation, had shared a room 12 feet square with six other children and its parents,

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—a little more than 100 cubic feet of air-space for each person,—for which accommodation a rent of 4/6 per week was charged. The condition of provincial towns in the matter of overcrowding is scarcely less favourable, in fact according to the last census returns six towns have a higher percentage than London,—Gateshead, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Sunderland, Plymouth, Halifax and Bradford. These towns occupy the order in which they have been quoted, and the percentages vary from 40 in Gateshead to 19 in London. In the worst parts of Liverpool nearly 1000 persons are huddled together upon an acre of ground, and in some other towns, Glasgow and Greenock for instance, the number is quite as great. In rural districts overcrowding has been shown to exist to a very serious degree, sadly too often the result of the demolition of cottages which have fallen into decay, without provision on the part of the landlord of new houses for the displaced tenants. In mining districts there is no doubt overcrowding to an alarming extent. In the northern districts very often in small houses or flats of two rooms, there are living man and wife, three to five children, and in many cases a lodger; eight to ten persons in all. Such conditions wherever they exist must indeed have a disastrous effect upon the morality of the people. Decency and modesty cannot well be cultivated under such circumstances. The late Lord Shaftesbury, speaking of the influence of overcrowding, especially upon the children, says, “it is totally destructive of all benefit from education. It is a benefit to the children to be absent during the day at school, but when they return to their houses in one hour they unlearn everything they have acquired during the day.”

The effect of overcrowding upon the health of the

people can be gauged from the following table taken from the Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the London County Council.

Proportion of population living more than two in a room, in te- nements of less than five rooms.		Death-rate from all causes 1885—1892.	
Districts with under 15 p.c.		17'51	per 1000
" " 15—20 p.c.		19'51	" "
" " 20—25 p.c.		20'27	" "
" " 25—30 p.c.		21'76	" "
" " 30—35 p.c.		23'96	" "
" " 35—40 p.c.		25'07	" "

There can be no doubt that much of the heavy infantile mortality which exists in large towns is due to overcrowding; whilst, as the Report of the Royal Commission shows, much suffering prevails among children from this cause, which does not appear in the death-rate at all. In certain districts, for example, ophthalmia is very prevalent, and can be traced to the dark, ill-ventilated and overcrowded rooms. The following extract from the same Report shows how the loss of health by the labouring classes is not to be comprehended from the vital statistics, as published. On enquiry, "it was found that upon the lowest average every workman lost about twenty days in the year from simple exhaustion, and the wages thus lost would go towards paying an increased rent." That overcrowding lowers the general standard of health, that the people become depressed and weary, is the testimony of those who are daily witnesses of the lives of the poor. The effect of overcrowding upon the spread of infectious diseases need only be mentioned to be appreciated. Typhus Fever is peculiarly associated with overcrowding. "In Liverpool

nearly one-fifth of the squalid houses where the poor live in the closest quarters are reported as always infected, that is to say, the seat of infectious disease."

STRUCTURAL AND SANITARY DEFECTS. Mention has already been made of the fact that the houses occupied in tenements by the poorer classes have never been intended or designed for that purpose, and it will readily be seen that a house which had sufficient sanitary accommodation for the members of a single family, would fall far short of what would be required; were every room occupied by a separate family. This class of property is old, and naturally in a bad state; in addition, these defects have been greatly aggravated by the neglect to repair and maintain. A very large proportion of such houses is in the last stage of delapidation. The windows contain little glass, and even the sashes may have disappeared, or if present are in a rotten condition. They are usually useless for the purposes of ventilation, the remaining sashes having to be secured in order to hold the frames together. In Sunderland, a woman hanging up a bird-cage at one of these wretched windows, leaned upon the sash which collapsed, with the result that she was precipitated into the street, sustaining injuries to which she succumbed. The walls are damp and crumbling away, and are often absolutely rotten.

The roofs are usually in a sad state of disrepair; few indeed of such houses having ever been re-roofed. This allows damp to penetrate into the house, as also does defective spouting. The floors are usually rotten, the woodwork being generally in a bad condition, especially in the staircases and common passage. In addition to these and other defects, the want of ventilation in the dwellings, the defective lighting of the rooms, staircases,

and passages, and the want of free circulation of air about and through the houses, all combine to give us a class of property which is a disgrace to the community.

With regard to defective sanitary arrangements, there can be no doubt that of late years material improvements have been effected in the matter of sewerage and drainage in all large towns. In old tenement houses, however, the work has been usually imperfectly done and badly maintained, which, together with the fact that it was carried out under the old order of Sanitation, undoubtedly means a serious danger to the public health. The closet accommodation is usually most defective, in spite of the extensive powers confided to Local Authorities by the law in this respect. In the Report of the Royal Commission a case is quoted of a street in Westminster where there was only one closet for all the houses, 30 to 40 people inhabiting each house. Such a condition of affairs is unfortunately by no means unique, and certainly no credit to the Local Authorities. Existing closets are frequently in a disgraceful condition. Of old and bad type, with basins thickly furred and even cracked, traps utterly defective, and soil-pipes badly fitted and leaking, their existence is often more dangerous to health than their absence. They have even been found placed in the living rooms, and in Newcastle-on-Tyne a case has been recorded in which a woman was confined in a small room, down the wall of which the liquid of two closets outside was coursing. It is no matter of wonder that the case developed into Typhoid Fever, of which the patient died.

The neglect to provide proper receptacles for the deposit of house refuse, and inadequate regulations for the collection of the same are very serious drawbacks to the cleanliness

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of these houses. Deposits are not unfrequently made in unoccupied rooms, cellars and even on the staircases and in the passage, while all manner of filth is thrown on to the public roadways, street gutters and grates. Much as offenders in this respect deserve punishment, still failing proper appliances and regular and frequent collection it is not easy to see what the tenants can do.

The water-supply to houses is a matter of extreme importance. Usually speaking there is little cause for complaint, except perhaps in the case of a single supply to the whole of a tenement house. This often entails the storing of a supply in their rooms in pails or tubs, which is extremely detrimental to health. Frequently the water-supply to the closets is defective or altogether wanting, which renders such accommodation worse than useless.

With regard to the conditions in rural districts, much that has been said of town dwellings holds good. Reports which have been presented from time to time, do not describe a very creditable state of affairs. One relating to a district in Suffolk states "that for insanitation and general decay it would be hard to find so many cottages as bad in any rural area in England." The condition of the cottages is described as follows, they are old, "built of lath and plaster, and covered with straw thatch, both walls and thatch being defective; some with only one bedroom, and that in the roof; floors of brick, damp and uneven; windows and doors rickety; privies with large cesspools near the houses and the wells; many without gardens, and others without back doors." It is to be feared that these conditions are not by any means unusual, and that even in the more fortunate districts there is yet great

room for improvement. The gradual replacement of these old cottages of defective type by well-built and carefully designed cottage-houses will do much to improve the condition of our rural population.

CELLAR-DWELLINGS. In some districts this class of dwelling is extremely common, in others almost unknown. Their regulation is fully provided for by the Public Health Act, 1875 and the Public Health (London) Act, 1891. Bad as the circumstances generally are, they still seem able to comply with the directions of these Acts. As far as ever possible the use of cellars as dwellings should be discouraged, if indeed such should not be altogether prohibited.

BACK-TO-BACK HOUSES. The objections to such a class of dwelling, preventing as it does through-ventilation, as well as interfering with the proper lighting of the houses, have been so often and so forcibly stated that one cannot but feel surprised that there should still be advocates for a system so universally condemned. Not only, however, do such dwellings exist in large numbers, but in certain districts are even now being erected. In some towns the number of such houses is enormous; in Leeds, it has been estimated, there are over 53,000 back-to-back houses inhabited by 214,000 persons, and that this number is increasing by 1200 houses a year. These houses form no less than two-thirds of the total number in that borough; and in 1892 72 per cent. of the cases of infectious diseases occurred in such dwellings, and according to the Medical Officer of Health the fatality was greatest under these conditions. In Salford, an enquiry into the effects produced by living in these back-to-back dwellings showed, that the general death-rate of the town was 27·5 per 1000. Where there were 50 per cent. of back-to-back houses the death-rate rose to 30·5

per 1000, and where there were none but these dwellings it rose to 38·4 per 1000. The rise in pulmonary diseases was from 9·4 to 14·4 per 1000. The zymotic death-rate in the first mentioned district was 4·5 per 1000, in a second containing 23 per cent. of back-to-back houses it reached 4·8, while in a third with 56 per cent. it rose to 6·2 per 1000. In this town it has also been shown that "in certain streets and courts consisting of back-to-back houses unfurnished with through-ventilation, tubercular disease was much more common than in other parts of the town, and that such disease occurred again and again in the same houses." Diarrhœa followed in the same lines. Dr. Thorne Thorne says that "back-to-back houses encourage consumption, and the best way to combat this malady is to provide for free circulation of air and sunlight at the back and front, if not all round, the houses." Similar conclusions as to their influence on the production of this disease have been expressed by many other well-known experts.

Certain statistics have been published by Dr. Bell of Bradford, which, at first sight, seem to show that the people living in this class of house were healthier than those whose dwellings had efficient through-ventilation. Dr. Herbert Jones has, however, disposed very completely of this argument. He took the two classes of houses in Saltaire and Shipley, where the conditions were identical. "In Saltaire the annual general death-rate in a period of six years was 16·6 per 1000 and the zymotic death-rate was 1·08 in the through-houses, whilst in back-to-back houses the two rates were 21·1 and 1·7 per 1000 respectively. The deaths from Phthisis were in the ratio of 2·3 per 1000 of the population in the through-houses to 3·4 in the back-to-back houses." These figures seem conclusive, and fully bear out

the general experience of this type of dwelling. Apart from this question of their influence upon health, such houses are advocated on the score of economy or cheapness. In this argument there does appear at first sight a sound basis of truth, but on careful estimation and calculation it has been shown, that in the case of an ordinary house valued about £150, the price of the materials and the land being the same in each case, "the difference in cost between a through-house and a back-to-back house, affording the same accommodation and built equally well, amounts in the case illustrated to £5 in favour of the back-to-back house, a difference which may be approximately represented at one penny per week less rent." Such a saving is obviously out of proportion to the advantages offered by through-dwellings, and should not seriously weigh in a discussion as to the choice of type to be followed.

Structural and sanitary defects in dwellings are undoubtedly the cause of many serious affections, for example, the various forms of chest diseases,—Bronchitis, Consumption, and others, together with Rheumatism are often associated with dampness in houses. Beyond this many diseases arising from defective sanitary arrangements are originated *de novo*, or conveyed by befouled air or water. Follicular Tonsillitis, Diphtheria, Croup, Typhoid Fever, Erysipelas, Diarrhoea, Abscess, Pyæmia, Hospital Gangrene, and Puerperal Fever are often due to such conditions. Pneumonia is very often associated with impure air, and under such conditions becomes infectious, and very fatal. Besides these major illnesses, less severe ailments have their origin in defective conditions;— headache, bilious attacks, and various other forms of digestive derangements, sore throats and the like. While at present so much atten-

tion is directed towards the prevention of disease, it is well to bear in mind that better conditions of housing must have an important effect with regard to preventable diseases.

THE USE OF DWELLINGS AS WORKSHOPS, ETC. The houses of the poor are also in a large proportion of cases their workshops, a feature which adds greatly to the unsanitary conditions of life. Many of the trades are actually of a noxious character, which is of course aggravated by the conditions under which they are carried on. A pressing danger to health arises from the storing of costermonger's stock in the dwelling. This acts injuriously upon the health of the vendor in that a quantity of decomposing matter is introduced into his home, and also upon the consumer, who buys the produce laden with the exhalations due, it may be, to defective drainage or faulty ventilation.

THE EARNINGS OF THE WORKING CLASSES. It is necessary to deal briefly with this question, in order that we may be able to estimate the rentals to be obtained for the houses provided, as well as to recognize the various classes for whom we must cater. We would first point out that each successive drop in income has a much greater effect upon the poorer classes than would be felt by the rich; a drop from 20/- to 10/- a week means a vast more to the artisan than a fall from £1000 to £500 would to a wealthy man. This fact must never be lost sight of, when dealing with the rise and fall of wages; a comparatively slight fall being sufficient to make the difference between comparative comfort and bare existence. Charles Booth, in his work on the "Labour and Life of the People", divides "the poor" into four classes or strata, which he names A, B, C, and D. The "poor" are composed of 35 p.c. of the

population of his test area, whose wages amount to less than 21/- per week. The population of this area was 891,539, so that no fewer than 316,000 constituted what he considered "the poor". The lowest strata, A, some 11,000 strong, equalled $1\frac{1}{4}$ p.c. of the total number of poor. "Their life is the life of savages, with vicissitudes of extreme hardship and occasional excess. Their food is of the coarsest description, and their only luxury is drink. It is not easy to say how they live; the living is picked up, and what is got is frequently shared; when they cannot find 3d. for their night's lodging, unless favourably known to the deputy, they are turned out at night into the streets, to return to the common kitchen in the morning. From these come the battered figures who slouch through the streets and play the beggar or the bully or help to foul the record of the unemployed; these are the worst class of corner-men, the young men who spring forward on any chance to earn a copper, ready materials for disorder when occasion occurs. They render no useful service; they create no wealth, more often they destroy it." Class B forms $11\frac{1}{4}$ p.c. and includes 100,000 persons, composed of broken-down men, widows, deserted women and their families, existing on precarious earnings less than 18/- a week. To this class belongs much of the social wreckage, and it is here social reformers are presented with their most serious and perplexing problems. Class C comprises 75,000 or 8 p.c., living on intermittent earnings of from 18/- to 21/-. Between this class and the preceding one the transition is very gradual, and as Mr. Booth remarks, their curse is not so much low wages as irregularity of employment, and the moral and physical degradation caused thereby. Class D numbers 129,000 or $14\frac{1}{4}$ p. c., dependent

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upon regular earnings of from 18/- to 21/-, including many dock and waterside labourers, factory and warehouse hands, carmen, messengers, porters, etc. As a general rule these men have a hard struggle, but they are as a body, decent, steady men, paying their way and bringing up their children respectably.

In the same district no fewer than 377,000 or over 42 p.c. lived on earnings varying from 21/- to 30/- a week. So long as health lasts or work continues a fair amount of comfort is possible; however, the line between them and those less fortunate is easily crossed, and practically the whole of this 77 p.c. may fairly be classed as the "poor". The wages of the better class artisans or skilled labourers may be placed at an average of 34/- a week, their incomes varying with the rise and fall of wages, with the fulness or slackness of work. Such facts as these must be taken into consideration in the erection of all improved dwellings, and it will readily be seen that the conditions stated will not only decide the question of the accommodation to be provided, but also the rents that can reasonably be obtained for the same.

RENTS. It is by no means easy to gauge the actual rental obtained for these dwellings of the poor. There is no doubt that speaking generally landlords are unable to recover the full rental due, a fact which should be remembered, and on account of which some allowance should be made. In giving evidence before the Royal Commission, Mr. Marchant Williams, Inspector of schools for the London School Board, gives as his personal experience of certain poor districts of the metropolis, the following figures:— 88 per cent. of the poor population pay more than $\frac{1}{4}$ of their income in rent.

46 per cent. of the poor population pay from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ of their income in rent.

42 per cent. of the poor population pay from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ of their income in rent.

and only 12 per cent. of the poor population pay less than $\frac{1}{4}$ of their income in rent.

The average rent of one room was $3/10\frac{1}{2}$, for two rooms 6/-, and $7/5\frac{1}{2}$ for three room tenements. Instances are also given where even 4/6 and 5/- have been paid for the wretched accommodation of a single room. In the provinces rents are also high, though certainly not so exorbitant as in the metropolis. This is probably accounted for by the difference in the value of land. In Newcastle 2/6 is the usual price for a single room, even 3/- having been paid for a cellar in that city. Many causes are assigned for the exorbitant rentals, there is no doubt but that they are principally due to the competition for houses caused by a desire on the part of the poorer classes to live near their work and markets. It is also important to remember that not only do the poor pay more for their homes, but also for articles of consumption, vegetables, groceries, coals and the like.

THE HABITS OF THE PEOPLE. When any mention is made of the sad conditions under which the poor live, there are invariably some to assert that much, if not all, of their misery is the result of their dirty, destructive and improvident habits, and that any attempts to solve this problem must be solely directed to the tenant rather than to the owners of the properties in question. Such an argument has so great a seeming foundation of truth, that the loudly asserted dictum of these individuals has sadly too often gravely hampered, not to say altogether defeated, the

beneficent schemes of local authorities or private individuals. No one who has any knowledge of the conditions will deny many of the objections stated; but, while doing so, it should be remembered that many of these houses could not be made clean if even the tenants were anxious to make them so, that no knowledge of the principles of sanitation has been imparted, and that their habits are too often moulded upon the grim sense of their despair. Drink is thus both the cause and consequence of such conditions; a fact which should never be lost sight of by temperance reformers. It is not to be wondered that, amid such human wreck and ruin, drink should be made the vehicle which, for a time at least, lifts them out of their despairing and degraded condition. It is idle to proclaim that such people would make newer and improved dwellings as bad as those they now occupy, until you have at least given them an opportunity of doing so; and the evidence we think even now shows the falsity of such a statement. Who, in face of the wonderful changes she has been able to effect, will deny the success of Miss Octavia Hill's work in the London slums? After careful examination of her work, we are forced to believe, that where such destruction has happened with newer and better houses, there has been some fault in the management itself. To effect a change of habits, it will be necessary to educate the great mass of people to an appreciation of the value of personal and household cleanliness, and a sense of their obligations not only to the landlord but to the community at large. More than that, if landlords are to be punished, either directly or indirectly, for the bad condition of their property, surely the law should severely deal with those, who, given better opportunities and better accommodation, wil-

fully neglect to take reasonable care of, or maliciously do damage to the property of others. In addition, provision should be made in our Elementary Educational Code for instruction in the first principles of Hygiene, an opportunity being thereby afforded of training up men and women who may recognize the value of Sanitation, and of correcting many of the fallacies, which, on matters of health, abound on every side. The dirty condition of these people and their homes is as much the result of habit, as is the cleanliness of the wealthier classes, and the solution of this difficult question will be materially hastened by endeavouring to impart a true perception of the value of Health, and the principles required for its preservation. Any effort for the education of young or old into their individual responsibilities in this matter, should be fostered and developed to the fullest extent.

CHAPTER III

RETROSPECT OF LEGISLATION PREVIOUS TO 1890

IN proceeding to review the various Acts of Parliament which have, at one time or another, been directed towards the amelioration of the conditions under which our working-class population are housed, we note that the problem has been before the mind of the Public and of the Legislature for more than 40 years. It is difficult to realize that, despite all this legislation, we have to acknowledge but little improvement.

In the year 1851, principally through the instrumentality of the late Lord Shaftesbury, the first two Acts bearing upon this subject were placed upon the Statute Book:—the Common Lodging Houses Act and the Labouring Classes Lodging Houses Act. The latter Act, when adopted by a vestry, gave power for the appointment of commissioners, “who need only be ratepayers, to borrow money on the mortgage of the rates, for the erection, purchase, or lease of lodging houses for the working-classes, to be managed under bye-laws made and enforced by the commissioners.” These Acts appear never to have been carried out, and their author stated in his evidence before the Royal Commission that he believed he was the only living Englishman who knew of their existence.

In 1855 the Nuisances Removal Act and the Metropolitan Local Management Act became law. The former gave power to deal with all matters of drainage and the like, and contained clauses directed against overcrowding. The Sanitary Act of 1866, which amended the foregoing, introduced powers for the regulation of houses let in lodgings, or occupied by members of more than one family. These Acts, as well as the Sanitary Law Amendment Act of 1874, were repealed by the Public Health Act of 1875, and the Public Health Act (London), 1891.

In 1866 Mr. Torrens introduced into the House of Commons a bill "to provide better dwellings for artisans and labourers." The Government had, in that same year, carried into law the Labouring Classes Dwelling Houses Act, and the Labouring Classes Lodging Houses and Dwellings Act (Ireland), and the measure introduced by Mr. Torrens aimed at the extension of the powers thereby conferred. The bill was referred to a Select Committee, the result of which was seen in the Artisans' and Labourers' Dwellings Act, 1868. Two acts were passed in 1879 and 1882 for the purpose of amending that of 1868. These Statutes provide for "the gradual improvement or demolition of the dwellings of the working classes, and for the building and maintenance of improved dwellings. These Acts apply to single tenements, or comparatively small groups of houses; and in the metropolis are administered by the vestries and district boards." Houses, themselves unfit for human habitation, or obstructive to ventilation, or conducing to make those surrounding unfit for habitation, were to be proceeded against under these Acts. The expense incurred in the carrying out of these measures was found to be so great, and the facilities for

appeal on the part of the owners were so manifold, that it is not a matter of surprise that they were seldom adopted.

Following on these Statutes, the Artisans' Dwellings Improvements Acts, commonly known as the Cross Acts, were passed in 1875, 1879 and 1882. These included the Artisans' and Labourers' Improvement Act, 1875 and 1879, and the Artisans' Dwellings Act, 1882. The two former were enquired into by Select Committees of the House of Commons in 1881 and 1882. The object of Sir Richard Cross's Acts may be described as the doing on a large scale of that which the Torrens' Acts were intended to do for smaller areas. The following quotation from the Draft Report of the Committee in 1882 shows very clearly the distinctive features of procedure under these two sets of Statutes. "Mr. Torrens' Acts proceed upon the principle that the responsibility of maintaining his houses in a proper condition falls upon the owner, and that if he fails in his duty the law is justified in stepping in and compelling him to perform it. They further assume that houses unfit for human habitation ought not to be used as dwellings, but ought, in the interests of the public, to be closed and demolished, and to be subsequently rebuilt. The expropriation of the owner is thus a secondary step in the transaction, and only takes place after the failure of other means of rendering the houses habitable." The Acts of 1875 to 1879 (Cross Acts) proceed upon a different principle. "They contemplate dealing with whole areas, where the houses are so structurally defective as to be incapable of repair, and so ill-placed with reference to each other as to require to bring them up to a proper sanitary standard, nothing short of demolition and reconstruction.

Accordingly, in this case, the Local Authority, armed with compulsory powers, at once enters as a purchaser, and on completion of the purchase proceeds forthwith to a scheme of reconstruction."

The Cross Acts, like those of 1868 and 1879, were for one reason or another seldom adopted.

In 1884 a Royal Commission was appointed to enquire into the whole question of the Housing of the Working Classes, and as the result of their deliberations a voluminous and valuable report was presented to Parliament, the chief recommendations of which were incorporated in the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1885. As with previous Acts so with this: local authorities for one reason or another did not avail themselves of its provisions, though no doubt if energetically taken up much good could have been accomplished. The Local Government Board, recognizing this fact, more than once drew the attention of local authorities to their neglect of duty, by strongly worded circulars, from one of which we quote, "The Local Government Board have had under their consideration the great and pressing question of the housing of the working classes. They cannot avoid the conclusion that a large number of the working population of this country are at present housed in tenements which are either unfit for human habitation, or are in such a condition as to be distinctly prejudicial to the health of the inmates. There can be no doubt of the gravity of the evils which result from the unsanitary condition of the dwellings of the poor, or of the ability of sanitary authorities, by a strenuous and judicious exercise of the powers which the Legislature has conferred on them for this purpose, to effect a very material improvement in the present condition of these

dwellings. The Board deem it right, therefore, again to bring specially under the attention of sanitary authorities the duties which are imposed on them by the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1885, and the very large statutory powers which they possess in relation to this matter

"These powers have been entrusted to sanitary authorities in order that they may be exercised for the protection of the poor, who are unable themselves, for the most part, to enforce the observance of the laws relating to the public health by the landlords. I have most urgently to impress upon the sanitary authorities the grave responsibility which they incur, if they neglect to put these powers in force in any case in which their exercise may be required in consequence of the unsanitary condition of any dwellings in their district."

Despite such urgent calls to action, little was done throughout the country. In 1890, however, the Government, determined to remove as far as possible the excuses of which Local Authorities had too willingly availed themselves, introduced and carried into law a measure to consolidate and amend the Acts relating to this question, under the title of the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890.

The provisions of this Act, as well as the general sanitary law affecting this question, must be dealt with in detail. In quitting a brief survey of the course of legislation on this subject, we may remark, that of powers there have been no end, but the disposition to administer has been wanting.

CHAPTER IV

THE HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES ACT, 1890

As we have pointed out in the preceding chapter, Local Authorities very readily availed themselves of any excuse for their inactivity in dealing with the pressing problem of the re-housing of the working class population. The two principal reasons given for this neglect certainly did contain some substantial basis of truth. It cannot but be admitted that the intricacies of the Acts dealing with this question very seriously interfered with the disposition to carry out their provisions; while in the matter of compensation, the unsatisfactory condition of the law enabled owners to profit very considerably in consideration of the property condemned. In addition to the tedious and costly legal processes, the enormous sums which were required to compensate landlords for the demolition of their property did much to render these Acts altogether inoperative. Even now we are by no means unfrequently reminded of this fact by the opponents of improvement schemes under the Act of 1890, the provisions of which we are now about to review.

For these and other reasons it was very generally felt necessary to consolidate, simplify, and in some very important respects, modify the existing law on this subject. With this purpose, Mr. Ritchie, the then President of the Local

Government Board, introduced two measures, the one for the purpose of amending, the other to consolidate the various Acts. After undergoing many important alterations in Committee, the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, at length became law.

In order to fully appreciate the importance of this Act, and the opportunities it affords for decisive action with regard to the pressing evils of the existing conditions, it is necessary to make a careful study of its provisions, from which it will be seen that many of the obstacles and difficulties which have in the past so greatly hampered and delayed effective action have been altogether removed, and the processes involved materially simplified. For the present we must content ourselves with a brief survey of its salient features; in an Appendix, however, will be found a more detailed account of its provisions.

In Parts I and II are to be found the powers under which unhealthy areas and unhealthy houses may be dealt with. In order to obtain a clear idea as to the intention of these portions, and in order to dispel any misconception that may exist as to the object of either one or the other, it is necessary thoroughly to appreciate the distinction which is thus drawn. Part I deals with large areas, where, although under Part II the owners could be compelled to render the houses fit for habitation, a complete re-arrangement of the district is required, and can only be effected by the total demolition of the old property. The clauses relating to compensation are the same in both parts of the Act, the course of procedure being also very similar. Ample rights of appeal are provided, and in the case of an area dealt with under Part I the Local Government Board inquiry, which must be held before the granting

of a confirmatory order, protects equally the rights of the rate-payers and interested persons.

Part II, in addition to dealing with houses unfit for human habitation, also provides for action in regard to "obstructive buildings", which, though not themselves unfit for habitation, "stop ventilation, or otherwise make or conduce to make such other buildings dangerous or injurious to health, or prevent proper measures being carried into effect for remedying any nuisance injurious to health." By means of these provisions it is possible to open out narrow courts or alleys or otherwise re-arrange congested areas, where such can be effected with some reasonable chance of success, without having recourse to a larger and necessarily more costly scheme under Part I.

Part III relates to the building or adaptation of working class lodgings. For this purpose the authorities may compulsorily acquire lands and houses, and should they deem it desirable they may relegate the management of this work to a company, society or individuals. More than that, they may lend them money for the building of these model houses upon easy terms as to the repayment of the loan with interest.

The fourth part of this Act contains various powers for the carrying out of its provisions, to some of which we shall shortly refer.

Compared with previous Statutes dealing with this question, the Act of 1890 is remarkable, not merely for the simplification which has resulted from the consolidation and re-arrangement of the existing laws, but also for the fact that it contains many provisions which materially increase the possibility of really effective action.

One of the most important features is the power conferred

upon the inhabitants of a district to put the law in operation in case of default on the part of the Local Authority. In the case of an Area any twelve or more rate-payers, and in the case of a Dwelling any four or more inhabitants living in the district, may make a complaint in writing to the Medical Officer of Health, who must inspect the area or dwelling, and send his report together with the complaint to the Local Authority. Should no action result, the complainants may, on giving security as to costs, compel a Local Government Board inquiry, on the report of which the Authority must take action if such be deemed desirable. These provisions are invaluable, and must materially assist in preventing that indifference and inactivity which has characterized the attitude of the various Authorities to all previous Acts. That this is so may readily be gauged by the amount of work which has been done in the brief time which has elapsed since the passing of this measure. Not merely have huge schemes involving enormous outlay of money been inaugurated in the larger centres, but the activity has been general, and we shall probably be well within the mark when we say that more has been accomplished in the past four years than during the whole of the last half century. Should Local Authorities not respond to the call of duty in this matter, we may feel assured there will ever be ready sufficient public-minded and courageous citizens to put the machinery of the law in motion, and compel attention to the grievous perils attending any further delay.

Those portions of the Act which deal with the question of Compensation illustrate perhaps even more completely the advances which have been made. It is not too much to say that but a few years ago such provisions would

have been characterized as revolutionary, and as compared with previous legislation they certainly do mark a most noteworthy advance. Whereas previously the owners of unsanitary houses were able to profit very considerably from the compulsory sale of their property, so stringent are the clauses under which the arbitrator must now act, and so clearly laid down are the principles on which compensation must be based, that there should be no difficulty in protecting the public funds from the gross abuse which characterized the proceedings under earlier Acts. These sections will be found quoted in full in the Appendix, and a careful study of them should be made, as it is largely on them that the strength of the Act depends. The compulsory purchase must not be taken into account, and not only are allowances to be made for the increased rental obtained by letting the house in such an overcrowded condition as to be dangerous to health, but the estimated cost of placing the premises in reasonably good repair is to be deducted, while, should there be no possibility of effecting any improvement, the only allowance to be made is the value of the land and of the materials of the buildings thereon. So far as it has been found necessary to put this Act in operation these clauses have been found to work satisfactorily, and what is perhaps equally important, owners, recognizing the possibilities which are thus opened up, have been stimulated to considerable activity and are endeavouring to effect such improvements as are necessary.

The Act also contains extensive powers for the maintenance and regulation of the houses erected in connection with the Reconstruction Schemes. If defaulting owners are to be severely dealt with, tenants must be compelled to

feel the responsibility on their part, and remember the duty they owe not merely to the landlord but to the community at large.

That section which, under pain of a heavy penalty, prohibits any interested person from voting as a member of any Authority upon any resolution or question arising in connection with action under Parts I or II, prevents all chance of jobbery or undue influence in the carrying out of Improvement Schemes under this Act.

One other point of great practical importance must not be overlooked, though it is to be feared the existence of this section is by no means widely known. It refers to the provision of an implied guarantee in the letting of houses intended for the accommodation of working people at small rentals that the premises are in a proper sanitary condition, the landlord being liable to an action for damages in respect of any loss of health arising from defective conditions. There can be no doubt that this must tend to the improvement of the property, even should more decisive action not result.

In thus reviewing the principal features of an Act which marks a new epoch in the history of Social Legislation in our country, we cannot refrain from expressing the opinion that we now possess a weapon well able to yield good service in the struggle to improve the wretched conditions under which the poorer classes live. It has been suggested that some portions are if anything too permissive, and that frequently "shall" should have taken the place of "may". No doubt minor details may yet require further modification, but the vital principles of this Statute, if rigorously and judiciously applied, will do much to remove one of the greatest blots upon our Social System.

CHAPTER V

POWERS UNDER THE PUBLIC HEALTH ACTS

THE Public Health Acts of 1875, the Amendment Act of 1890, and the London Act of 1891, besides their application to general questions of Sanitation, have by virtue of certain sections a direct bearing upon the Housing of the Working Classes. For a complete summary of these Acts, our readers must refer to some of the many excellent annotated editions, our object being to deal only with those special provisions of interest to our subject.

In the Acts of 1875 and 1891, powers are conferred for dealing with the question of overcrowding. Amongst others, a nuisance is defined, "any house or part of a house so overcrowded as to be dangerous or injurious to the health of the inmates, whether or not members of the same family." [1875, s. 91; 1891, s. 2.] The same term is also applied to "any premises in such a state as to be a nuisance or injurious or dangerous to health." The succeeding clauses give power to the Local Authority to deal with nuisances. For the course of proceedings we must refer our readers to these Acts. We may, however, mention that it is stated to be the duty of every Local Authority to cause to be made from time to time inspection of their district, with a view to ascertaining the existence

of nuisances and the abatement thereof. In the event of negligence on the part of the Local Authority, information may be given "by any person aggrieved thereby, or by any two inhabitant householders of such district, or by any officer of such authority, or by a relieving officer, or by any constable or officer of the police force of such district." In the Act relating to London, the expression "by any person" removes all limitations whatsoever as to the right of private individuals to move in these matters. Both Acts provide power to close any house, in respect of which two convictions for overcrowding have taken place within three months, whether the parties convicted were or were not the same. [1875, s. 109; 1891, s. 7.]

Both Acts provide for a penalty not exceeding £20 on persons building any house without proper sanitary conveniences; and in addition, owners of already existing property can be compelled to provide all necessary accommodation. [1875, ss. 35, 36; 1891, s. 37.]

Cellar dwellings are fully dealt with under sections 71 to 75 of the Act of 1875, and sections 96—98 of the Act for London. Though these regulations appear fairly stringent, yet, as we have already remarked, many very sorry dwellings appear to satisfy the demands of the law.

Under the Public Health Act London every sanitary authority *must* make and enforce bye-laws for the regulation of houses let in lodgings. This duty is, however, under the Act of 1875, optional and not compulsory upon the rest of the country. These provisions do not apply to common lodging houses which are dealt with elsewhere.

The following matters shall be dealt with under these bye-laws:—

1. The fixing and from time to time varying the

number of persons who may occupy a house or part of a house, which is let in lodgings or occupied by members of more than one family, and for the separation of the sexes in a house so let or occupied.

2. For the registration of houses so let or occupied.

3. For the inspection of such houses.

4. For enforcing drainage and the provision of privy accommodation for such houses, and for promoting cleanliness and ventilation in such houses.

5. For the cleansing and lime-washing at stated times of the premises, and for the paving of the courts and courtyards thereof.

6. For the giving of notice and the taking of precautions in case of any infectious disease.

The general provisions of these Acts with regard to nuisances, cleansing, removal of refuse, and the like, have all an important indirect bearing upon the question of the dwellings of the people. Much might be done by enforcing the law to render even the existing conditions, bad as they are, at least tolerable. A duty is placed upon every Local Authority, nay, upon every individual, to endeavour to carry out those provisions, which make for the health and comfort not of one class of the community, but of all classes.

The Public Health Act, 1875, gives powers to the sanitary authorities of the country to deal with unsanitary property, and as many favour action under this statute rather than under the Act of 1890, we must deal more fully with these sections.

Under section 97, "where the nuisance proved to exist is such as to render a house or building, in the judgment of the court, unfit for human habitation, the court may

prohibit the using thereof, until, in its judgment, the house or building is rendered fit for that purpose; and on the court being satisfied that it has been rendered fit for that purpose, the court may determine its order by another, declaring the house or building habitable, and from the date thereof such house or building may be let or inhabited." A penalty not exceeding 10/- a day is incurred during default, and any person wilfully and knowingly acting contrary to such order is liable to a penalty not exceeding 20/- per day. Further, the Local Authority may enter the premises and carry out such works as they may deem necessary to abate the nuisance, and recover the expenses in a summary manner from the person against whom the order was made [s. 98.]. Section 99 provides for the staying of proceedings pending an appeal to the Quarter Sessions. When the person by whose act or default the nuisance arises, or the owner or occupier of the premises is not known or cannot be found, the order of the court may be addressed to and executed by the Local Authority [s. 100.]. Such provisions are of very great importance, and afford a simple and inexpensive method of dealing with unsanitary property. Sir Charles Cameron and many other authorities favour action under this statute rather than under the Act of 1890, as being equally effective and much less costly. In Dublin 27,00 houses have been de-tenanted and closed—about 1000 of them never to be reopened—without any compensation to the owners. As Sir Charles Cameron remarks, "if a man has a house unfit for a human dwelling, why should he be compensated for its disuse? We prevent a butcher from disposing of the carcase of an animal unfit for the food of man, but we do not compensate him for his loss."

Apart altogether from the matter of cost, the question may be asked, how are we to determine under which Act to proceed? It appears to be a question of degree: the Act of 1890 being particularly directed against buildings *unfit for human habitation*, and that of 1875 dealing with premises in such a state as to be a "*nuisance or injurious to health*".

The distinction may, perhaps, not amount to a great deal, the one class of property merging by almost imperceptible gradations into the other. However, it is well to bear in mind, that in addition to the comprehensive Act of 1890, we have very important powers, which can be exercised almost without cost to the rate-payers, and under which compensation cannot be obtained by defaulting landlords.

In the administration of these Acts, Local Authorities are empowered to draw up bye-laws, which must receive the confirmation of the Local Government Board. For use in full, or as models on which the like may be fashioned, the Board have prepared a very complete code of model bye-laws. Unfortunately, however, these model bye-laws have not been so fully adopted as we should like to see, with the result that Local Authorities find their action cramped and limited. Despite the fact that on one or two points they require revision, we have no hesitation in recommending their adoption, and feel confident of the advantage that would accrue therefrom.

In this brief review of the law as affecting this grave question, we trust we have shown, at any rate, that should Local Authorities feel disposed to act, ample powers are ready to hand. And further, what is perhaps more important, in the event of their default, the law can be set in motion by private individuals, who, recognizing the conditions, desire their removal.

CHAPTER VI

THE REMODELLING OF EXISTING PROPERTY

WHEN action is taken under the second portion of the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, or under the Public Health Act, 1875, the question arises, what modifications or improvements can be made in the older dwellings, which will render them able to satisfy the demands of advanced Sanitation. There can be no doubt but that, chiefly on the score of economy, Local Authorities are more anxious to act under the foregoing rather than by the more extensive and necessarily more expensive method of dealing with large areas; and where such is the case it is extremely necessary that the work should be thoroughly carried out.

At the best, however, much of such work must necessarily be unsatisfactory; for instance, in the matter of lighting and circulation of air about the dwelling, so much depends on the surrounding buildings, that little can be accomplished in these two most important directions. This statement is borne out by the fact that in those towns where action has been taken on these lines, a very large proportion of the houses have never been reopened; for example, as we have already mentioned, in Dublin 1000 out of 2,700 houses remain closed. Furthermore,

this class of house we have seen to be ill-adapted for the purpose for which it has come to be used, and very often the smallness of the rooms or the low ceilings make it impossible to obtain sufficient air-space, a fact which greatly diminishes the value of any extensive repairs which might be made.

First and foremost in the matter of repairs, comes the duty of rendering the house weather-tight. While often the brick-work is found in a bad condition, it is possible by careful pointing and perhaps cementing to put the outer walls into a very fair condition. The roof, in the majority of cases, requires complete renewal; usually all that can be done in the way of repairs has been already carried out. All chimney stacks should be carefully repointed; in many cases it will be found necessary to entirely rebuild them. All spouting should be carefully renewed, the down-comers being of substantial make and firmly fixed; much of the damp condition of this class of property is due to defective spouting, if indeed this is not altogether wanting. The window frames for the most part will require to be renewed, or if repaired, care must be taken that the windows are made to open, so that they may be used for the purposes of ventilation.

Speaking generally, it will be found that all wood-work will require renewal; floors, doors, and stairs being generally in a sad state of disrepair. In repairing staircases, a common plan is to insert a new piece in the place of the worn-away tread, a most dangerous proceeding, as on the older wood wearing away a projection is left, which is easily caught by the foot, the more so because for the most part the staircases are dimly lighted. For the same reason hand-rails should be provided; it is often an advantage

to have metal ones, wooden ones being very often removed for use as fire-wood. All plaster-work should be repaired, the walls being stripped of all paper, of which there will commonly be found many accumulated layers, which materially increase the difficulty of dealing with vermin, and also with infectious diseases. The walls should be distempered, though probably the tenants will insist on papering, this, however, should be strictly forbidden in all passages and staircases. New grates with ovens should be supplied; many of the unfortunate habits of diet of the working classes are due to defective cooking arrangements. With regard to the sanitary arrangements, they should be made as simple as possible. All disused drains should be removed. It will often be found that a communication exists with the cellar; when such is the case the drain should, wherever possible, be removed, and the whole area carefully cemented out, the cement-work being continued up the inside of the cellar walls. Sinks are very often to be found in the passages and even in the living-rooms of such houses, usually untrapped, or should there be a trap it is of a defective nature. These should be removed, or replaced in the yard if such there be. Receptacles must be provided for the collection of refuse, such as will best facilitate the frequent and speedy removal of the same, and these will require to be of substantial make, in order to stand the rough usage to which they are so often subjected.

Different forms of closets have been found successful in this class of property in different localities, such as the trough closet, the tumbler, and the Bristol eject. By far the simplest and best is one of the 'wash-down' or 'flush-out' type of basins. Whatever type is adopted it is important

to avoid all forms of the "pan-closet". The situation of the closet is of the greatest importance, on no consideration whatever should it be allowed to communicate with the living rooms, as is at present often the case. It should be well ventilated, and wherever possible cross-ventilation should be provided between the closet and the rest of the building. All drainage works should be carefully executed, and tested before allowing the house to be occupied.

Any yard space should be carefully cemented, proper falls being constructed to carry away all surface water. As we have already suggested, the difficulty in thus dealing with old property, consists in its position with relation to surrounding houses, it being almost impossible to give any yard accommodation, where such is wanting, without the demolition of some of the surrounding property. This, however, will not readily be done, and constitutes a grave objection to action on these lines.

BACK-TO-BACK HOUSES. In dealing with schemes for reconstruction it is necessary specially to consider the question of back-to-back houses. So firmly convinced are we of the dangers attending this class of property, that we would unhesitatingly declare for the total demolition of all such existing premises, and the replacing of them by houses of a better and more healthy type. At the same time it is impossible to close one's eyes to the fact, that such a procedure would entail a tremendous cost to the rate-payers, such in fact as to preclude any possibility of the realization of the idea. Whether the ultimate cost of such an undertaking would be so serious as at first sight appears, in view of the saving of life and health to the community, does not materially affect the issue. Such a proposal we may fairly relegate to a position amongst the unrealized sanitary ideals.

But if such be impracticable, the question naturally arises, can nothing be done at a moderate outlay to remedy as far as possible the present conditions?

In the first place it is necessary to stop the further growth of this great evil. As we have seen, the erection of this type of dwelling is still going on in many of our largest towns, despite the universal condemnations which have been expressed. It is to be feared that this is largely due to the presence of builders or speculators in property on the Local Authority. The only way to deal with this difficulty is to educate the rate-payers to a clear perception of the dangers to health, and the selfish interests at stake.

In April 1891 and December 1892, Dr. Tatham presented reports to the Manchester Corporation dealing with the question of back-to-back houses, and gave four schemes for the conversion or remodelling of this class of property.

In the first, the main wall of one row of dwellings is set back, by so doing additional width of street is obtained between blocks originally too close together, through-ventilation is provided, with separate yards to each house.

The second plan consists in the removal of every third pair of back-to-back houses, with other structural alterations providing yards to each house.

The third plan converts half the back-to-back dwellings of each block into double houses with through-ventilation for each, retaining a certain portion of single houses with improved lighting and ventilation.

The fourth plan consists in pulling down every alternate pair of houses on one side of a back-to-back street.

In addition to this class of property which is absolutely back-to-back without any intervening space whatever, in

many places there exist houses which have such a small area between them as to be almost as objectionable as the former. These yards, blocked in by the high surrounding houses, and approached from the street by the common passage of the house, do not allow of through-ventilation, or merely that of a very unsatisfactory nature. It has been suggested to deal with this class of property by pulling down both sides of every alternate street, thus making ample yard provision, the roadway becoming the back street of the other rows. Such a procedure, while no doubt creating a very satisfactory condition, would entail most serious expenditure.

When these schemes of reconstruction or remodelling have been completed there naturally follows the question, how are the improved conditions to be maintained? What supervision must be carried out?

There can be no doubt that under any conditions an efficient system of inspection ^{will} ~~should~~ be established. Local Authorities should certainly avail themselves of the provisions of the law with regard to the registration of such houses, and determined action should be taken on the reports presented, whether such action affects tenant or landlord. It is generally admitted that Local Authorities are for the most part slow to act, even though they possess ample powers, and we are compelled to declare that much of the present disgraceful conditions is due to their neglect of duty. For the most part the staff of inspectors will be found to be sadly too small to deal effectively with the districts under their charge. One inspector should not be called upon to deal with more than 2000 tenement houses, the increased cost being more than counterbalanced by the saving of public health and money that would thereby

accrue. The work of inspection should not be confined solely to determining the neglect of the *landlords*, in a very large proportion of cases the *tenants* require to be forcibly reminded of their duties.

This brings us to consider a work which has been most successfully carried on by Miss Octavia Hill, in several of the most unpromising districts of the Metropolis. We would strongly advise a careful perusal of her book on the "Homes of the London Poor," in which will be found a singularly interesting account of her labours.

The three cardinal features of her work are:—

- 1st. the acquiring of old and delapidated property, and its thorough repair;—
- 2nd. personal supervision and management;—
- 3rd. the carrying out of the work *on sound commercial principles*.

With regard to the first of these points, Miss Hill states,—what is being more and more clearly seen every day,—that there is great difficulty in dealing with the poorest classes,—the unskilled labourers. Failing a scheme for reconstruction, she is of opinion that much may be accomplished by the adaptation of existing premises. To this end she acquired possession of several blocks of buildings, and either gradually or at once placed them in thorough repair.

The strength of her scheme, however, lies in the *management*. To quote her own words, she desired "to free a few poor people from the tyranny and influence of a low class of landlords and landladies; from the corrupting effect of continually forced communication with very degraded fellow-lodgers; from the heavy incubus of accumulated

dirt; so that the never-dying hope which I find characteristic of the poor might have leave to spring, and with it such energy as might help them to help themselves. I had not great ideas of what must be done for them, my strongest endeavours were to be used to *rouse habits of industry and effort*, without which they must finally sink—with which they might render themselves independent of me, except as a friend and leader.” The reconstruction of the houses was to be followed by a moral reconstruction of the people, without which the best of schemes and the noblest efforts would be lost. At first sight this no doubt appears “a large order”, but the perusal of Miss Hill’s book will clearly show the lines on which she worked to achieve her end, and her success is now a matter of history. It is not her desire to trust to the periodic visits of inspectors, but to the systematic visiting of volunteer managers, who will take the control of the property, and who will not only collect the rents and attend to repairs, but will make the tenants feel that they have a real interest in their well-being, and do something to bridge over that separation of the classes, which is the greatest curse confronting social reformers.

Under Miss Hill’s system tenants who had previously paid their rent when they felt so inclined, who had been dirty and careless in their habits, and destructive of the property, by firm management and kindly advice became sober, honest, and industrious persons.

With regard to the third feature of her scheme, it is surprising what a large measure of success has been achieved. In the case of the first block acquired, consisting of three houses, 5 per cent. interest has been secured on all the capital invested, after discharging all

expenses; and in the first year and a half £48 of the capital had been repaid. A certain sum has been set aside for repairs, and this is divided equally among the houses; any surplus left after the repair of any breakage or damage, being devoted to improving the comfort of the house. During the first eighteen months the bad debts only amounted to £2 11 3.

In view of the all-round success attending such work, it is indeed a matter of surprise that many similar undertakings have not been instituted. There is a very large class of philanthropic individuals who are continually expressing their desire to help their fellow-creatures, and here is a field for labour ready to hand, which, so far from entailing great pecuniary sacrifice upon them is really a sound and profitable investment. It is to be hoped that we may yet witness the extension of such noble work.

In addition to the extended official supervision and inspection we have advocated, much may be accomplished by well-organized and judiciously applied volunteer effort. The Mansion House Council on the Dwellings of the Poor has rendered most valuable service in the Metropolis. This work has also been undertaken by similar societies in other large towns. In cases of default, the Local Authorities have been stimulated to action, and in many instances independent action has been taken. To quote from one of the publications of the above-mentioned Society, "there are many occasions upon which a Society can take advantage of its impersonal character, of the influence of its members, or the extent of its organization to interfere where individuals would have small hope of success."

Apart from such organizations, there is a great number of individuals who have exceptional opportunities of ob-

serving the conditions under which the poor live. District visitors, clergymen, parochial officers, and those connected with various Charity Organizations are continually brought into contact with defects which call for interference and immediate remedy. Much good can in most cases be accomplished by working as far as possible in concert with the official inspector, independent action, however, being taken in case of default on the part of the Local Authority. It is important that care should be taken that the information given is reliable; and all persons undertaking work of this kind should make themselves more or less conversant with the provisions of the law in relation to such matters.

CHAPTER VII

DECENTRALIZATION AND DIFFUSION OF THE POPULATION

WE have already in general terms alluded to the migration that has taken place from the rural districts towards the large centres. The latest census returns (1891) showed the total population of England and Wales as being 29,001,018; of whom no fewer than 20,802,770 persons belonged to the urban districts, leaving the total population of the rural districts only 8,198,248. The effect of this necessarily overcrowded condition of the large centres will readily be seen on reference to the figures of the Registrar General's Report. In 1893 the death-rate in England and Wales was 19·17 per 1000 persons living. In the thirty-three largest towns the death-rate was 21·57 per 1000. In England and Wales, less these thirty-three towns, the rate was 17·9 per 1000. The ages of the people in the towns are more favourable as regards the mean expectation of life, and the proportion of females—who have in the country at large a lower death-rate than males—is greater in towns. Corrected for age and sex distribution, the death-rate in the thirty-three towns was 23·32 per 1000, and in the rest of the country 17·62 per 1000. Thus the mortality rate in the towns was 5·7 per 1000 in excess of that in

the rest of the country. The difference between the rural rate and that in some of the towns was appalling. For example, the difference as regards Liverpool amounted to no less than 13·17 per 1000. In that city there died, in 1893, two persons for every death in an equal population in many parts of England. For example, in the outer ring of London, with a population of 1,543,296, the death-rate in 1893 was only 15·4 per 1000.

In addition to the effect upon the death-rate, it must also be borne in mind, that the influence of town life under the prevailing conditions materially lowers the vitality, and has a distinctly apparent effect upon the health and energy of the people. As the Registrar General remarks, "the combined effect of this constantly higher mortality in the towns, and of the constant immigration into it of the pick of the rural population, must clearly be a gradual deterioration of the whole, insomuch as the more energetic and vigorous members of the community are consumed more rapidly than the rest of the population. The system is one which leads to the survival of the unfittest." As we have pointed out, this flocking to the towns, in the first instance, followed upon the introduction of steam power and the subsequent establishment of factories and the like. The decline of small country industries has also largely contributed to this end. Manufactures have become centralized in the large towns, with the effect of stamping out rural industries. A recent writer * points to the growth of the railroad as one of the chief agents at work. He says:—"Wherever the railroad has penetrated a country it has withered the ancient cottage industries of our land. It is true that even before the time of railways

* Hobson, "Problems of Poverty." Methuen & Co.

the development of machinery had in a large measure destroyed the spinning and weaving trades, which in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and elsewhere, had given employment to large numbers of country families. The railway, and the constant application of new machinery have completed this work of destruction, and have likewise abolished a number of small handicrafts, such as hand-stitched boots, and lace, which flourished in western and midland districts. Nor is this all. The same potent factors have transferred to towns many branches of work connected indirectly with agricultural pursuits; country smiths, brickmakers, sawyers, turners, coopers, are rapidly vanishing from the face of the country." The attractions of higher wages, though more than compensated for by the increased cost of living, the social attractions of the town, and "the far-reaching advertisement of irresponsible charity" have all contributed towards the same end. To all these causes must be added agricultural depression which has become very real and wide-spread.

To remedy this condition of overcrowded centres is indeed a difficult problem, and one worthy of the attention of the nation. Various schools of political doctrine advocate various remedies for this great and pressing evil. It is to be feared that the more advanced ideas of would-be reformers are not a little responsible for the small progress that has been made in connection with this matter.

So far legislation has almost entirely been directed towards making life for the poorer classes in our large centres in some degree tolerable. To this end we have various Acts of Parliament, some of which we have considered. Building regulations and bye-laws, which have of late years materially increased in intention and scope,

have also been directed towards the diminution of the evil.

As time goes on, and the population still further increases, the call for more extended action must become even more imperative. What that action may be is by no means easy to determine or suggest, the question is beset with grave difficulties, and many and diverse interests are at stake.

As Mr. Worthington remarks in his book on the "Dwellings of the People", it is "almost ridiculous to talk of changing the sites of Glasgow, Manchester and London," though we doubt that his suggestion as to the conversion of the ground now occupied by crowds of dwellings into well laid out and cultivated areas would probably only result in the still further overcrowding of the surrounding areas.

It has been frequently suggested, and the proposal merits most careful consideration, that the transference of manufacturing and works of various kinds to country districts would materially lessen the enormous pressure. There seems no reason why this should not be done. The enormous extension of our railway systems, to which in the first instance we have been indebted for much of the pressure, renders such decentralization possible. This plan has already to a limited extent been adopted by many firms, who, manufacturing in the rural districts, carry on their business from offices or warehouses in the large centres. No doubt great difficulties are in the way of the realization of such a proposal, but the ideal is undoubtedly good.

We have already alluded to the influence of agricultural depression upon existing conditions. We are here face to face with one of the gravest problems in connection with our present day system of economics. We cannot

pretend to examine into the causes which have been and are at work bringing about the present undoubtedly serious condition of agriculture, nor would we venture an opinion as to the policy needed to restore somewhat of the old position. Though not concerned with such considerations, we cannot but admit that any improvement in the state of agriculture must have a decided and beneficial influence upon the conditions we are considering. It is to be feared that the depressed condition of agriculture has also in many cases had a very serious effect upon the housing of the rural population. Landlords have been and are unable to discharge the duties they owe to their tenants, not merely in the matter of the erection of new and better houses, but also in the repair and maintenance of already existing property.

Passing from these considerations to the converse proposition, let us consider the desirability of housing the working classes of our large towns in the suburban districts. Many authorities are convinced that in this direction we have *the* solution of the "Housing" question. At the very outset we must remark that the advantages of such a procedure one would hardly venture to deny. Providing the houses, of whatever type they may be, are of sound workmanship, well designed and arranged, there can be no question whatever as to the advantages that would most certainly accrue. But before accepting such proposals as the panacea for all the evils which exist under the present system, it would be well to consider some obvious objections, which seem very seriously indeed to prevent its realization.

In the first place, we must not under-estimate the undoubted desire on the part of workmen to live as near

their work as possible. It is, perhaps, difficult satisfactorily to account for this. The long hours of labour probably more than anything else contribute to this desire. To live at a distance from their work means an earlier start in the morning, no return home for the midday meal, and a late arrival when the day's work is over. The shortening of the hours of labour would therefore probably have an important bearing on this matter. Moreover, the wages earned leave but little margin for the extra cost of travelling which, however low, would still amount to a considerable weekly sum.

Then again, in a great number of trades, residence at a distance from the scene of their labour would entail an amount of inconvenience. For instance, in iron shipbuilding one class of workmen is so dependent upon another, that often a man does not know when he leaves home whether or no he will get a start. Often work is not commenced till after the breakfast hour, or even after dinner. To live at a distance in this case would mean either an unnecessary waiting, or what would more probably result, a large amount of lost time.

Further, the wear and tear of a railway journey to and from work has undoubtedly a deteriorating influence upon the nervous system; only those who have experienced the same can realize how irksome the daily journeys become. Moreover, as the towns increase in size, the suburbs being gradually pushed further and further from the centre, the distance to be travelled becomes correspondingly increased, entailing a proportionate expenditure of time, and still further adding to the tedium and nervous wear-and-tear. This increased distance becomes a very serious item, when dealing with the largest centres of population, such as

London, Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham or Liverpool. London especially has grown to such enormous dimensions, that the distance which would thus require to be travelled almost completely precludes any chance of success in this direction. This is all the more unfortunate because it is in such towns that the need for this diffusion of population is most urgent. In the smaller towns, where the necessity has not been so great, nor the difficulties so serious, considerable progress has been made.

In many towns great advantages have been afforded by the tramway companies to working-men desirous of living in the outlying districts. Where the tramways are the property of the Local Authority even greater facilities have been given. Trams are run in the early morning at reduced fares, conveying the workpeople to their employment, similar arrangements being made for their return at night.

Two conditions must be satisfied in order that the railways may be utilized for the benefit of the poorer wage-earning classes. First,—the fares must not exceed the difference between the rents of their houses in the congested districts and the lower rents of the suburban dwellings; secondly,—the railway company must arrange at reduced fares to convey the people to and from their work *at convenient hours*. Until 1883 no provision by any public general Act of Parliament had been made to compel railway companies to run workmen's trains. Provisions for that purpose had been made in several Acts relating to railways of the Metropolitan area; and from the Report of the Royal Commission it appears the railway companies had gone far beyond their legal obligations. In 1883, however, an Act was passed, which put these and

other companies in an altogether different position. "Under this Act the Board of Trade, if they have reason to believe that upon any railway carrying passengers, proper and sufficient workmen's trains are not provided for workmen going to and returning from their work, at such fares and at such hours, between 6 o'clock in the evening and 8 o'clock in the morning, as appears to the Board of Trade to be reasonable, may cause an inquiry to be made, and may order the company to provide such accommodation as they may think fit; and in the case of refusal by the railway company may issue a certificate under which the Company would lose the benefit of the Act, so far as relates to the remission of duty." It is certain that the provisions of this Act have been loyally carried out by the various railway companies, in fact they have generally exceeded their statutory obligations.

The following table shows the total number and mileage of the trains required to be run by special Act of Parliament, and those actually running in 1893 and 1894 on the railways of the companies having termini in the metropolis:—

	Trains.	Mileage.
Trains service required		
by Act of Parliament	11	45
In operation 1893	110	763
" " 1894	476	2732.

It has been considered necessary, however, that the law should be still further extended, and a Bill for that purpose was introduced in 1893. It was therein proposed that the maximum daily return fare should be twopence, not exceeding five miles; fourpence, exceeding five miles and not exceeding ten; sixpence, exceeding ten miles and not

exceeding fifteen; eightpence, exceeding fifteen miles and not exceeding twenty. Even these charges are prohibitive.

The Public Health and Housing committee of the London County Council presented a report on this subject in April 1893, which contained the following recommendations: 1st, Workmen's tickets to be available for return by any train carrying third-class passengers; 2nd, the issue of quarterly or monthly third-class tickets to be extended to all stations within the limit of cheap train service; 3rd, the conspicuous advertisement of the conditions as to the issue of workmen's tickets; 4th, except in the case of quarterly or monthly third-class tickets, all workmen's tickets to be daily ones; 5th, all third-class trains arriving at the various London termini up to 8 a.m. to be workmen's trains throughout the area of cheap trains; 6th, all third-class trains from London termini up to 7.30 p.m. be also workmen's trains; 7th, when insufficient third-class accommodation is provided the holder of a workman's ticket to be allowed to travel by a superior class without extra charge; 8th, the zone system of tariffs to be adopted. Three zones were suggested: the first of five miles, the charge being 1½d; the second of twelve miles, the charge being 3½d; the third of twenty miles, the charge being 4½d.

Such proposals if universally enforced would no doubt materially increase the chances of success in the attempt thus to diffuse the population of the overcrowded central areas over the suburban districts.

It is not to be anticipated that much active opposition would be encountered from the companies, even to such extended proposals as those we have just quoted. In fact the London County Council has succeeded in inducing

the railway companies to allow workmen to return by any train after 12 o'clock instead of 5 o'clock. Should there be any opposition, it will be necessary to remind the railway companies, that they themselves have been very largely responsible for the overcrowding, and that in no case have they fulfilled their obligation to re-house those persons whom they have displaced in the course of the demolitions in connection with their works. On this point the Royal Commission Report is very distinct, and it is pointed out that the standing orders in relation to this matter have been systematically evaded.

In a paper read before the International Congress of Hygiene and Demography held in London 1891, Mr. S. M. Burroughs proposes to remove the difficulties we have discussed by free travel. This would of necessity involve the purchase of railways by the State. As he points out, the various companies now make average dividends of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., whereas the Government securities would float at 2 per cent. The saving of interest alone to the public would amount to £10,000,000 per annum. The strongest objection to this proposal is, that if it has to be paid for out, of the Consolidated Fund, the pecuniary benefit would go chiefly into the pockets of the owners of suburban lands. This difficulty would be met by the taxation of land values thus created to pay for the same. This proposal is by no means of such a utopian nature as may at first sight appear. The State purchase of railways has long ceased to be considered beyond the bounds of practical politics. Under the control of the State much greater facilities would be possible, even without absolutely free travel.

CHAPTER VIII

COTTAGE HOMES

IN the preceding chapter we have pointed out the advantages that must accrue from the diffusion of the population of the overcrowded centres, and the erection of suitable dwellings in the suburban districts. If we have appeared to unduly urge the objections it must not be thought that the considerations in favour of such a proposal have not our most hearty approval and support, but it seems most desirable that the almost insurmountable difficulties should never be lost sight of, more particularly as a large section of experts declare such to be the only solution of the problem. In doing so, moreover, the disposition to ignore other methods, such as the 'block' system, is so apparent, that we are desirous that no misconception should exist as to the possibilities of either one system or the other.

Cottage homes, not merely for artisans, but for all, such as clerks, whose wages preclude the possibility of more extended accommodation, present so many and distinct advantages, that we cannot but sympathize with those who would make light of the difficulties, and with them urge the extension of such provision. Such a type of dwelling, affording as it does a self-contained home within the smallest limits, is greatly appreciated by the classes for whom it is intended. The

invariable rush of tenants for such accommodation testifies to this fact, and those who have any knowledge of districts, where cottages are largely provided, know the desire which exists to obtain them, and the ease with which tenants can be secured.

The isolation of the families enjoying the advantages of these houses is of great service in preventing the spread of infectious disease, and materially lessens the difficulty in dealing with such epidemics.

This complete isolation of the family and above all the provision of separate sanitary accommodation favours the development of that home-life which in our large towns and cities is rapidly becoming an impossibility. This decadence of home-life which the late C. H. Pearson in his work on "National Life and Character" so admirably described, is distracting and perplexing all social reformers and all who labour amongst and for the poorer classes in our large centres of population.

Two difficulties very largely prevent the extensive enjoyment of such advantages, and it is important to recognize them. Land in the majority of our large centres is so costly, that it is impossible to erect this class of house, to secure anything like a reasonable return for the money invested. Houses of a larger type are required, in order that the land may be used to the extent of its value. Apart from this consideration, Local Authorities with large estates of cottage property are apt to feel the effect of the decreased rateable value. In Sunderland, where a very large number of estates have been covered with this class of dwelling, and where probably there are more cottages than in any other town in the kingdom, the rateable value has not increased appreciably during the last few years, a

fact which is of great import to the ratepayers. Dr. A. E. Harris the then Medical Officer of Health in his report for 1890, speaking of these cottages and their advantages says, "To the Corporation they are on the other hand costly luxuries. They very largely increase the mileage of streets to be cleansed, and they add very much to the cost of all scavenging. A street with three storey houses would cost practically no more to cleanse than a street of cottages; while the *rateable value* would be a great deal more." Much of this difficulty may be overcome by the erection of cottage flats, which we will describe; the obstacles to the erection of cottage homes in the suburban districts we have already fully considered.

Much of the advantage, which this type of dwelling presents, is lost by want of care in the construction. In no class of property does jerry-building so largely obtain, though certainly of late years it has become increasingly difficult owing to the activity of Local Authorities and greatly improved building regulations. However, despite all this even at the present day cottages are erected which are absolutely unfit for habitation. To obviate this danger it is necessary that more careful inspection should be made during the construction of these, and in fact of all, dwellings, and no house should be occupied until it has been certified as fit for habitation on the certificates of the Surveyor and the Medical Officer of Health of the Local Authority.

Amongst the many defects we may mention the total absence of any 'sealing' of the site, or damp courses, and insufficient foundations. The use of bricks of poor quality, and even in many cases old material obtained by the demolition of condemned property, is of frequent occur-

rence. We have often seen cottages in which this defect is to a certain extent hidden by a facing of bricks of good quality, the rest of the building being constructed of worthless rubbish. Mortar is often made with inferior lime, mixed with ash or road-scrappings instead of sand. The external and internal woodwork is frequently constructed of "green" wood, with the result that in a short time the shrinking which takes place renders the house neither wind nor weather tight. Ventilation is usually defective and the lighting most inefficient. These and other defects of a similar nature have very materially lessened the advantage to be derived from this class of property, and, naturally, the effect upon the health of the occupants is most disastrous. This is indeed a pressing evil, and it is imperative that all bye-laws and building regulations should be most carefully framed and stringently enforced.

In country districts where allotments of land are available, the detached cottage presents many advantages. In suburban districts, where economy of land has to be exercised, semi-detached cottages are much to be desired in preference to the monotony of long rows of inartistic dwellings. The free circulation of air round the dwelling materially adds to its healthiness. In towns a still further economy is necessary, which may be met by the erection of carefully designed cottage-flats of two or three storeys, the former in preference.

The accommodation will vary with the requirements of the families for whom they are intended. It is obvious that a cottage containing a kitchen, a living-room, and bed-room, while affording sufficient accommodation for a man and his wife, is insufficient for a couple with a family. Extra bedrooms must then be provided to prevent the use

of the living-room as a sleeping chamber, which is highly injurious to health. To each cottage, a wash-house, fuel-store and efficient closet accommodation must be provided, as well as such arrangements as will most readily allow for the disposal and collection of all refuse. The details of construction cannot be treated of in the limits of such a work as the present, reference to some points of detail will be found in a subsequent chapter. It is extremely important that care should be exercised as to internal arrangement of such dwellings. Very often, owing to defective design, they are little better than collections of doors, and the general ill-arrangement renders them very inefficient. Free circulation of air should be allowed; dark corners, which are invariably dirty corners, should be avoided. The front door of the house should enter into a passage, however small, rather than direct into one of the rooms. In the planning of bedrooms care should be taken to so arrange the room that a bed can be conveniently placed. We know many cottages in which, owing to defective design, the bed has to be placed across a fire-place or window.

All these deficiencies can be overcome by careful designing, and in the same way much might be done to render the exteriors more attractive and artistic than at present obtains. It is perhaps idle to plead at the present day for that beauty of design, that grace of architecture so eloquently advocated by Prof. Ruskin; but Miss Octavia Hill was most undoubtedly correct when she said, "there are two great wants in the life of the poor of our large towns, which ought to be realized more than they are,—the want of space and the want of beauty."

As we have pointed out, cottage-flats are particularly adapted for large towns, though perhaps in the Metropolis

the cost of the land may render even these barely remunerative. Each flat should be absolutely separate, and wherever possible approached from the street by a separate door. The plan adopted in some towns, where the lower flat opens on to the front street, and the upper, approached from the back by a stair, in some cases covered in, is most objectionable. With careful attention to design, cottage-flats should prove very useful, and return a good percentage on the money invested.

The cost per cottage will naturally depend upon local circumstances, as well as the nature and quality of the materials employed. The Dublin Artizans' Dwellings Company have provided two-roomed cottages for £75 each, and three-roomed cottages for £110 each, both exclusive of site. Cottages have been designed with four rooms all on the ground floor for £100 each. This is a very low figure, and can only be done by building two such houses under one roof.

In Huddersfield the Corporation erected in 1882—3 157 houses, mostly small cottages. For this purpose it was necessary to lease the land. The total capital expenditure was £28,944, which included the cost of making the streets. The total income in the way of rents in 1890 was £1905; the working expenses, including ground-rent, rates, water and repairs amounted to £673, leaving a balance of £1232. After paying the interest on the capital invested there was a balance in hand of £2. The houses are built of stone in the best possible style, and the demand for them is very great. It is unfortunate that some of them have been built on the wretched back-to-back principle. These cottages are built in a central part of the town, which may possibly have added somewhat to the cost.

In the VIth Volume of the Transactions of the VIIth In-

ternational Congress of Hygiene and Demography, London 1891, an interesting paper is contributed by Rowland Plumbe, F.R.I.B.A., on "Cottage houses for the Industrial classes". It contains an account of the Noel Park estate, the property of the Artizans', Labourers' and General Dwellings Company. The extent of the estate is 100 acres, the whole of which has been most carefully laid out. Five classes of houses have been erected, of which the first three are beyond the reach of the artizan classes, the rents respectively being, 11/6, 10/-, and 9/- per week. The fourth class houses are built on plots, having frontages of about 14½ feet, with a depth of about 70 feet, and contain five rooms, two of which are bedrooms on the first floor. The total floor area is 660 feet. The rental of these houses is 7/6 per week each.

The fifth class houses are built on plots with 13 feet frontage and a depth of 60 feet. The accommodation consists of a front living-room, with a kitchen and small wash-house behind, and two bedrooms above. The rental of these houses is about 6/- per week.

Arrangements have also been made for flats, two storeys high for two tenants. In the third class houses the staircase is shut off; the upper floor is arranged as a separate dwelling, consisting of a living-room and two bedrooms. An outside staircase leads down to the back yard, the wash-house and closet being held in common. For these 4/6 per week is charged for the lower flat, and 5/- per week for the upper. In the corner houses separate staircases are provided at the side.

The second class houses are similarly arranged, each flat however having its own scullery, wash-house and water closet. The rental is 5/- a week.

In the first class houses, the frontages have been extended from 16 feet to 19 feet, separate entrances being thus provided in the front, and a small additional bed-room being obtained on the first floor. The rental for the lower flat is 7/- a week, for the upper 8/- a week.

All rates and taxes are paid by the company. The whole of these houses are most substantially built, and present a bright and cheerful appearance. The company own several other estates which have been similarly treated. All their various schemes have been carried out with most careful attention to details.

The Birmingham Corporation have carried out an extensive Improvement Scheme under Part I of the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890. A large area having thus been cleared, great difficulty was experienced in getting builders to apply for sites, even at a low ground rent. The committee in charge of the scheme therefore obtained the consent of the City Council to become themselves the builders of artisans' dwellings (fig. I). In all 103 cottages have been erected; great care being exercised both as to the design and also to the details of construction. The rents vary from 6/3 to 5/- per week. One important feature is that each house has both a front and a back door, none of the back-to-back type having been allowed. The houses face each other across a well drained tar-paved space 31 feet wide; the back doors opening into an enclosed yard, 36 feet across. The latter is paved with blue bricks, and affords a playground for the children, and also a space for the drying of clothes. The houses let at 5/6 per week have on the ground floor a living-room, 13 feet square; and a kitchen, 12 feet by 9 feet, fitted with an iron sink and a small copper. A pantry

is connected with the kitchen, and a coal cupboard is situated under the staircase leading to the upper floor. On the first floor there are two bedrooms, and an attic is provided by having a roof of a somewhat high pitch.

In the 5/- a week houses the accommodation is a trifle smaller; the ground floor being principally devoted to the living-room, the back room being only a scullery. Good ovens and grates are provided in all these dwellings; also penny-in-the-slot gas-meters supplying 25 cubic feet of gas, sufficient to keep one burner going for five hours, for each penny invested. A closet with flushing cistern is supplied to each house: the sewers are ventilated, and the sanitary arrangements generally as nearly perfect as possible.

The contract price for 81 houses was £13,341; the Corporation undertook the concreting for foundations, bringing the total cost to £14,000, or about £173 per cottage. With a gross annual income of £1,193, from which is deducted one-third for rates, water, empties and repairs, and after paying the interest and sinking fund on the loan for the building, a margin of 9d. or 10d. per yard for ground rent will be left. The loan will be paid off in fifty years.

We are assured that the new groups of houses have materially improved the character of a neighbourhood which much needed it. The Corporation are at present taking action against the owners of houses unfit for human habitation under Part 2 of the Act of 1890. If the owners of this class of property find that the Local Authority intends to make effective use of this powerful weapon, they will most assuredly anticipate such action by putting their houses into proper repair.

Workmen's cottages have also been erected by the London

County Council at Deptford and Greenwich. These houses, built with care and of a substantial nature, represent the best attainable value for the money invested.

In various parts of London cottage homes have been recently erected. An interesting account of several of those under the management of Miss Octavia Hill will be found in the Mansion House Council's Report for 1894. The cottages therein described are situated in Little Suffolk Street, Southwark; Charles Street, Marylebone; Red Cross and White Cross Streets, Southwark; and Garden Street, and Dorset Street, Westminster (fig. II).

All these cottages have been most carefully designed, and erected with the greatest care. Each cottage is self-contained; a separate yard with all necessary conveniences being provided. A pleasing feature is the agreeable variety of external design, which reflects great credit upon the architect, E. Hoole Esq. F.R.I.B.A. The prices have varied somewhat; those in Little Suffolk Street have cost £175, while those in Red Cross Street have been erected for £220 each.

In rural districts, as we have already seen, the conditions are scarcely better than in the larger centres. Already action has been taken in many parts of the country to compel the owners to render their property fit for habitation. It has, however, been felt that the powers conferred upon the County Councils under Part 2 of the Act of 1890 are too limited, and require further extension. At present the powers of supervision they possess only enable them to take action in case of default on the part of the Local Authority, a proceeding which entails a certain amount of delay. Notwithstanding this, however, much good work has been done. In many of the northern

mining districts the conditions have been considerably improved. Not only have the colliery owners done much to remedy the defective condition of their cottages, and to supply proper and adequate sanitary conveniences, which have been in the majority of cases sadly deficient, but cottages have been erected of newer and better type. Still much remains to be accomplished, and it is to be hoped that the erection of similar dwellings will be proceeded with. Not only should this duty be undertaken by the land or colliery owners, but the Local Authorities would doubtless find the erection of model cottages a by no means unprofitable investment.

CHAPTER IX

FREEHOLD HOMES FOR WORKING MEN

OF late years great facilities have been afforded to working men to encourage thrift, and to enable them to become the owners of their houses. That such have been attended with the most beneficial results, no one will presume to deny. The sense of proprietorship in their dwellings engenders a feeling of self-respect which cannot be too highly estimated, and which should be cultivated to the fullest possible extent. We invariably find these dwellings marked out from their surroundings by a general air of respectability, which testifies to the care and attention expended upon them by their owners. There can assuredly be no better way of preparing for the rainy days that too often come to working men, than by providing a shelter for themselves and their families.

Much of this has been accomplished by means of the many Building and other similar Societies which have been established, and it is well to bear this fact in mind, when, as at the present, such institutions are somewhat at a discount. So many of these societies have in late years collapsed, with the most disastrous results to a large section of the community, that, despite all endeavours by Act of Parliament so to regulate their working as to

minimize the chances of such disaster, there still exists a prejudice which will not easily be removed. At the same time it must be acknowledged, that there are many Societies admirably conducted, which offer great advantages and ample security. It would be extremely unwise to condemn the flock on account of one or two of doubtful colour.

The Co-operative Societies have, in many districts, done good work in this direction. Further extension is desirable, and would no doubt be of great service to the members of that movement.

Such disasters as have been recorded, may not have been without advantage, in that a stimulus to offer more generous terms with greater security has been created.

One of the most sensible proposals in this respect is contained in a bill introduced by Mr. Thomas Wrightson, late M.P. for Stockton. The idea of this bill is the utilization of the credit of the State, Municipalities and Local Authorities, to assist thrifty working men to purchase their own dwellings. The Act is purely permissive. Under it the Local Authority could apply to the Government for a State loan at the lowest current rate of interest. Having borrowed the money at 3 or $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., the Local Authority could re-lend the money to the working-man desirous of buying his own house. The money and interest would be redeemed over a period of thirty years. The working-man would thus have to pay a much less sum per annum for the redemption of the loan and interest than the amount of rent he would have to pay, if he were simply an ordinary tenant.* In the event of

[*On a house costing £160, which would let for 5/6 a week, the

the property having to be sold owing to the borrower's inability to pay, or his leaving the country, the property could be equitably dealt with. Proper arrangements are also included for transferring the property to another workman with a continuation of the agreement. Though this bill has not yet become law, so many of the leading statesmen of all parties have expressed themselves as favourable to its principle, that we may confidently expect at no far distant date, to see the principle, if not the actual measure, available to the working classes of this country.

In the Charity Organization Review for August 1893, Mr. Locke Worthington gives some most interesting particulars of the methods which have been adopted in France to enable workmen to become the owners of their houses. The Société Anonyme des Habitations Ouvrières de Passy-Auteil was established for the purpose of "constructing model houses, of which the tenant may become proprietor in twenty years by an annual payment in addition to his ordinary rent." The rate of interest on the capital is limited by statute to 4 per cent. The houses are all self-contained, and are well fitted. In order to become the proprietor of his own house, the tenant on taking possession has to pay a first instalment of at least £20. The rent is calculated on the basis of 4 per cent. on the value of the house, with an addition of 1 p.c. for the cost of management, taxes, etc., and 3·3 p.c. for the completion of the purchase in twenty years. A house valued at

saving to the working man under the Act as compared with the taking of a house would be £4 to £5 a year, and as compared with the cost under a building society the working man would save some 30/- a year.

£208 can in this way be obtained by an annual payment of £17. The Société Havraise des Cités Ouvrières have erected dwellings of which the freehold may be secured in fourteen years. A current account is opened with each tenant, who is debited with the value of the freehold from the day of entering into possession, and credited with his monthly payments. He pays in advance a deposit varying with the size of the house from £12 to £20. The rent is calculated at a basis of 10 p.c. on the cost price of each house. In addition to his rent, the tenant can pay further sums of not less than £2 1s. 8d., the whole being carried to the credit of his account. Should the tenant desire to quit his house, his deposit on current account and about one third of his monthly instalments are returned to him.

The Society "Le Cottage" which has constructed dwellings at Oullins, Rhône near Lyons, builds property to order, a contract being entered into before doing so. The purchaser can thus choose the type of dwelling and the amount of accommodation he requires. There are two standard types. The first with only one floor, costing about £133, can be acquired by the tenant at the end of 15 years, for a monthly payment of £1. It is composed of three rooms, with cellar and attic, and a garden of about 125 square yards is attached. The second type, which consists of four rooms instead of three and costs £146, can be acquired at the end of 16 years 5 months by a monthly payment of £1 1s. 8d. The Caisse d'Espagne et de Prévoyance des Bouches-du-Rhône provides houses of five rooms with every convenience, and a garden at an annual rental of £12 5s. 10d. To purchase such a dwelling it is necessary to pay for 28 years an annual sum of £19 15s. 10d., in-

cluding rent and purchase money, or £4 18s. 4d. a quarter in advance.

This system, which has been employed with so much advantage in France, and which has yielded such a good percentage upon the capital invested, might certainly be adopted in this country. It seems difficult to understand why it has not already been done, and we can only attribute the neglect to the fact, that the working of the system is not sufficiently known.

Without doubt the greatest obstacle in the way of working-men becoming the owners of their houses is the uncertainty of work and the frequent change of dwelling, necessitated by the desire to live as near their work as possible. It is impossible to remedy this by legislation, though the provision of cheap and satisfactory means of transfer would do much to diminish the difficulty. The cheapening and extension of the means of conveying workmen to and from their work would also materially assist. It is extremely desirable that, by whatever means possible, artizans should be encouraged to become their own landlords, and it is also essential that the best possible accommodation should be provided for the money invested.

CHAPTER X

BLOCK DWELLINGS

THOUGH decentralization and diffusion of the working-class population is to be desired, the disadvantages and difficulties of distance cannot be ignored, and we must consider what can best be accomplished under the alternative system. Given an area cleared of all the wretched hovels which comprise a modern slum, the problem of how to utilize the space to the best advantage is one of considerable difficulty. The erection of cottage dwellings would be a costly remedy, and in order to secure even a moderate return for the money expended, the rentals would require to be far beyond the means of the classes for whom they are intended. The only other alternative is the erection of Block dwellings, which comprise sets of super-imposed dwellings having a common stair. By this method the population is distributed through a greater amount of cubic space, which must be accompanied by an increased amount of light and air. It is necessary under such conditions to provide sanitary arrangements of the most improved description, whilst careful arrangements for the supervision and the protection of the property are needed. Even after an area has been covered with block dwellings ful-

filling all the most modern requirements, experience has almost invariably shown that a certain proportion of the unhoused population are compelled to seek accommodation elsewhere, a fact which admirably illustrates the impossibility of satisfying the demands by the erection of cottage dwellings.

So persistently have the objections to "Blocks" been advanced, that no apology for their discussion is needed, moreover it appears beyond a doubt that whatever solution of the difficulty may be found, it will be in the direction of this type of dwelling.

No great compliment is paid to our architects by the objection so often cited, that the unsightliness of block-dwellings deters people from becoming tenants. There should be no difficulty in making the exteriors more artistic, if cost is not to be considered, though for the matter of that such can be accomplished without any material increase of price. The 'barrack-like' appearance so loudly denounced has *not*, apparently, frightened away tenants, judging from the success of such undertakings.

Equally unreasonable is the statement that such dwellings are avoided on account of their collective arrangement; for while it is no doubt true that almost everyone desires a self-contained dwelling for his family, it is equally true that such is really provided in the majority of the existing blocks, most certainly in the better ones. Were such not the case, the objection would be equally unreasonable as the accommodation provided is far in advance of anything to be found in the old tenement-houses.

One of the strongest objections is that such dwellings have been and are taken possession of by classes for

whom they were not intended, in other words people in good circumstances attracted no doubt by the superior accommodation offered, have appropriated dwellings intended for the poorer classes. Such certainly has been the case, but we cannot admit the right to quote this as an argument against this type of dwelling. Is it not rather a compliment than otherwise? Some companies endeavour to prevent this by fixing a wage limit for their tenants, but practically this is of little use, and it is difficult to see how such a thing can be prevented. In a very large proportion of cases the high rentals have contributed to this state of affairs: the poorer artisans being unable to allow so large a sum for rent. It is therefore important that in blocks intended for the less fortunate classes, the rents should be fixed as low as possible, so far as it can be consistently done without materially interfering with the accommodation offered or the class of building erected.

With careful management and supervision there should be little foundation for the objection, that Blocks rapidly deteriorate. Erected in the first instance in the best possible style, abnormal deterioration can only result from the abuse of the property, which should be carefully provided against.

It has been pointed out that the staircase open to the street is largely accountable for the defilement and destruction of this class of house. It has been suggested that the staircases should open into the space between two blocks, and that there should be one public or main entrance into this courtyard, and that directly under the control of the superintendent. This would meet the case no doubt, but such a space is not always available. In

order to claim exemption for dwellings under £20 a year rental it is necessary that the staircase should open and form part of the street,—a most unreasonable condition. This, however, is indirectly removed by the Customs and Inland Revenue Act of 1891, under which it would be possible to claim exemption for houses erected on the plan suggested.

Whatever doubt there may have existed as to the effect of such dwellings on the health of the tenants has been effectually disposed of by the published statistics. For example, in the dwellings of the Metropolitan Association for improving the dwellings of the Industrious Classes the death-rate was 15·37 per 1000, the rate for the Metropolis being 21·3 per 1000. With regard to the infant mortality, the deaths under one year of age were at the rate of 118 in every 1000 births, while the rate for the Metropolis was 164 in 1000 births. According to the report of the Trustees of the Peabody Donation Fund for the year 1893, the birth-rate reached 35·1 per 1000, or 4·1 per 1000 above that of all London for that period. The death-rate was 17·6 per 1000, which was 3·7 per 1000 below the average for London. The infant mortality was 126·4 in each 1000 births, or 37·9 below that of the Metropolis. It is unnecessary to quote further, it being clearly shown that given careful sanitation, block dwellings are in no wise less healthy than other classes of property. It is obvious that special care must be taken with regard to infectious diseases, the conditions somewhat favouring a higher rate. There is, however, no ground for alarm, and certainly none for condemning a class of dwelling, which has been so conclusively shown as especially favourable to health.

Objection has also been taken to the noise, and also to the height of such houses; the former is barely worth notice, and the latter is not borne out by the facts. In New York where the buildings are many storeys higher than in this country, the best rentals are obtained for the upper flats.

That some of the existing block dwellings are unsatisfactory is only to be expected; ideas as to construction as well as design have changed and do change materially. The building regulations and bye-laws are largely responsible for these defects. Careful revision is required, and as we shall yet see in the case of blocks special provisions will be necessary.

Block dwellings may be divided into two classes; 1st, those in which separate and distinct sanitary and domestic conveniences are supplied to each dwelling (fig. III); and 2nd, those in which for economy these conveniences are shared by the occupants of several dwellings (fig. IV).

Whatever type of Block is erected, the great aim should be to construct *homes*, the possession of which is so peculiarly attractive to our English nature. In addition to the ordinary sanitary conveniences, it is important that laundry and bath accommodation should be provided; this may with considerable advantage be arranged to supply the whole of a block, accessible at certain fixed times to each of the tenants. In many cases reading and recreation rooms have also been supplied, but these may fairly be classed as luxuries, which must materially tend to an increased cost. In order that the idea of a *home* may be realized to the fullest possible extent, a very large proportion of Blocks are so arranged that each tenement is entered by a separate door, and contains all living and sanitary accommodation

absolutely shut off from the rest of the building. The entrances to the tenements on the upper stories may be approached from balconies, which are in turn connected by a common stair with the street. This arrangement of separate tenements has been attended with most satisfactory results, but as we have already hinted can only be followed in blocks in which the higher rentals can be obtained. It is, however, absolutely necessary to adopt the second type for blocks intended for the use of those who can afford only the smallest sum for rent. The disadvantages of this type can be reduced to a minimum, by limiting the use of the conveniences to as small groups of tenements as possible.

One great factor in determining the price of blocks, and therefore indirectly the rentals, is the frontage of such buildings to a thoroughfare. The cost of the site at any rate can be much reduced by erecting these buildings in less busy streets. It is true that one means of counterbalancing the difficulty is to be found in the construction of shops on the ground floor, with warehouses in the basement and sub-basement, the rentals of which would go far towards the reduction of those of the super-imposed tenements. Such an arrangement has in some few cases been unsuccessful, difficulty having been experienced in letting the business premises. It is not easy to see why this should be, as at first sight the arrangement seems an admirable one. However, should such a contingency occur, it must, of course, to some extent interfere with the financial success of the undertaking.

Special provisions are required in the case of Block dwellings in order that they may not be erected on principles prejudicial to health. Requirements which are perfectly

satisfactory in the case of smaller houses, are naturally inadequate to meet the demands of huge blocks. For this reason special legislation is required in order to prevent the erection of cheap and badly designed houses, little if at all superior to the dwellings they are intended to replace. The need for this will probably be more apparent as we consider some of the points in the design and construction of Block dwellings which require exceptional treatment. To continue to erect large Blocks of dwellings without taking adequate precautions to obtain space around the buildings, sufficiently wide and open to prevent their overshadowing each other, and to provide for the thorough lighting of the houses, particularly the lower ones, by the direct rays of the sun, is to seriously endanger the public health. Light and air are necessary to the health of the people, and the inadequate provision of these necessities has a most disastrous effect upon their constitutions. We have only to contrast the muscular development and healthy vigour of country-bred men and women, with the flaccid tissues and pale faces of our slum-dwellers, to appreciate the value of fresh air and sunlight to the human economy.

Various estimates have been made as to the amount of open space required around Block buildings. Some authorities advocate the provision of a space in front of all 'Blocks' equal in width to one and a half times the height of the building. The following rule has also been suggested for use in calculating this space: "all buildings to stand below a line drawn at an angle of 45° from the level of the sill of the window on the ground floor of the buildings on the opposite side of the street."

Under the London Building Act, 1894, which came into

operation on January 1st 1895, it is provided that "no dwelling house to be inhabited or adapted to be inhabited by persons of the Working Class shall, without the consent of the Council, be erected or re-erected within the prescribed distance to a height exceeding the distance of the front or nearest external wall from the opposite side of the street, and that no building or structure shall be converted into such dwelling house within the prescribed distance so as to exceed such height."

This section, which only refers to new buildings, fixes the distance between two buildings at the height of the highest.

Under the same Act, the space in the rear of all dwellings erected after the commencement of the Act, or abutting upon a street formed or laid out after the commencement of the Act, must be not less than 150 square feet, exclusively belonging to such building. This open space is to be free from any erection thereon, except a water-closet, earth-closet or privy, and a receptacle for ashes, and enclosing walls, none of which erections shall exceed nine feet in height. It is also provided that this open space shall be throughout the entire width of such building, and to a depth in every part of at least ten feet from the building.

These provisions are far in advance of any previous requirements; and whatever criticism may be passed upon them, and whatever may be the practical result of their working, we cannot but admit that at length official recognition of the dangers we have mentioned has been secured. They certainly will prevent the construction of areas similar to those with which the County Council are at present dealing, and open up a new building era for the Metropolis.

The Act we have just quoted limits the height of any new building in London to 80 feet. This is far too high for block-buildings; a desirable maximum being 60 feet, a height which allows of six storeys, estimating the height of the rooms to be 10 feet. Smaller blocks may with advantage be constructed, and it is satisfactory to note that the London County Council have decided that their blocks shall not exceed five stories. The buildings should be erected in straight rows, with only slight projections or indentations, in order to allow free play of air and sunlight on every part of the dwelling. This arrangement is preferable to the square. Where such projections contain the sanitary accommodation, it is important that cross-lighting and cross-ventilation should be secured. It is essential that through-ventilation or perflation should be as perfect as possible, and that all passages or staircases should be well lighted. The latter demands most careful attention; one of the most serious objections to existing Blocks is that in a very large number of cases the passages and staircases are dark and badly-ventilated. This in many recent buildings is obviated by making the staircases open to the air, and protected by an iron railing. The lining of passages and staircases with white glazed bricks, renders them light even on a dull day.

Corridors are undesirable, and wherever possible should be avoided.

Every Block should be as nearly fireproof as is practicable. For this purpose each portion accessible by a common staircase should be treated as a separate dwelling, with the party wall intact, and carried right up to the roof. All staircases should be formed of good stone of hard quality, or of concrete cement.

The roof may, if flat, be used as a playground for the children, or a drying ground for clothes. This is most desirable and wherever possible should be encouraged. A prejudice against this plan undoubtedly exists in the minds of a large number of people, on the ground that the noise is objectionable to the tenants in the upper storeys. This can readily be obviated, and it is to be hoped that this unfounded and ill-advised prejudice will be overcome.

We have already pointed out that for economy the sanitary accommodation may be grouped together, and used in common by the occupants of several tenements. This is not desirable, but in cheaper blocks, more especially those of single-room tenements, it is possible that this system must be adopted in order to diminish the cost, and, through this, the rental. Where this is done, one closet should not be used in common by more than two or three families. A better arrangement than this has been adopted by the London County Council in their Associated dwellings at Bethnal Green, which we will describe. The scullery accommodation may also be held in common; laundries will under any circumstances be arranged for the whole of the block.

The number of rooms provided will vary from one to four. It will probably be found that tenements of two or three rooms will be most eagerly sought after. Above this number the rentals must necessarily prevent working men from occupying them. A certain proportion of single-room tenements will be required, though their construction should not be encouraged more than is absolutely necessary. The scanty accommodation of a single room can be materially increased by the provision of a bed-space, which

practically gives the benefit of another room. This system is very common in Scotland, and in Glasgow in some of the blocks two such spaces are provided to each living-room. The space thus appropriated would have been a great deal better devoted to a single bedroom.

Every single room should have a minimum superficial area of 144 square feet; each additional room should have at least 96 square feet. The London Building Act, 1894, provides that all habitable rooms shall be at least 8 feet 6 inches high. In moderate sized rooms, however, 10 feet is a desirable standard in order to facilitate ventilation. It is important that rooms in the upper storeys should not be of less height than those of the lower. All staircases and landings should not be less than 3 feet 6 inches wide. The amount of window space which should be allowed may be calculated on the following basis: twenty square feet of window area to be allowed to every 1200 cubic feet of room space. The new Building Act for London requires that the window space shall be equal to at least one tenth of the floor area of the room, and of such window a portion equal to at least one twentieth of the floor area shall be constructed to open to a height at least seven feet above the floor level.

Other details will be found in the chapter dealing with details of Building Construction, but before passing from this subject, we would like once more to urge the necessity of attention and care in the erection of these dwellings. All that we have said of jerry-building in relation to cottages applies with even greater force to large blocks. Unless erected substantially, deterioration must ensue, despite every care in management. Cases have already occurred, where it has been found necessary to proceed

against the owners of so-called "model dwellings" on account of their unsanitary condition, but this fact must not be allowed to prejudice attempts to provide decent and respectable dwellings. It should rather stimulate Local Authorities to increase the supervision of such houses, both during and after erection.

As examples of the two types of Block Dwellings we have described, the houses in process of erection by the London County Council as part of the 'Boundary street scheme' in the parish of Bethnal Green, may very conveniently be selected. Here the County Council under Part I of the Act of 1890 are engaged in clearing an area of 15 acres, which had previously been occupied by one of the worst slums. In all 728 houses will be demolished, and no fewer than twenty streets closed. In the reconstruction scheme to follow, every care has been taken to comply with the most exacting demands of Sanitary Science. In the centre of the area a circular garden, 270 feet in diameter, is provided, and from it radiate seven avenues, 50 to 60 feet in width, the new dwellings occupying the intervening spaces. Although by this scheme 5719 persons have been displaced, accommodation for no fewer than 4700 of these will be provided. For information as to these dwellings we are indebted to Thos. Blashnill, Esq., Architect to the County Council.

SELF-CONTAINED DWELLINGS have been provided comprising one, two, three, and four rooms. By far the larger proportion consist of two or three rooms; it being considered that these will be more eagerly sought after. The front door of each dwelling opens on the ground floor directly from a wide passage, and in the upper storeys

from the landing of the staircase. The living-room is 13 feet 7 inches by 11 feet 4 inches, and is fitted with a Cundy grate, in which the oven is below the fire. Across the corner of the room against the outer wall is a ventilated food-cupboard, and a dresser is provided with a coalbox, shelves, and drawers. Half a dozen coat pegs are fixed to a rail on the wall. This room is so arranged that a bed can be conveniently placed, it being necessary to use it as a bedroom when the family is large. The living-room communicates with the bedrooms, one to the front and one towards the back of the house; but in the case of two-roomed tenements, the front bedroom is dispensed with. The back bedroom is 12 ft. 3 inches by 8 feet 6 inches; the front being 12 ft. 10 inches by 7 ft. 10 inches. No fittings are provided in the bedrooms. At the back, the living-room opens into a scullery provided with a sink, a copper and a towel-roller; and through an open lobby access is got to the water-closet, which is thus entirely cut off from the house. With the latter great care has been taken, and the drainage has been most thoroughly carried out. The closets are of the 'wash-down' type, set in concrete, and flushed with two gallons of water. The soil pipes are set outside the buildings, and are thoroughly ventilated, as are also the waste pipes from the sculleries. Dust shoots are provided so that the dust and dry refuse can be efficiently removed from the dwelling.

These houses, which very aptly illustrate the self-contained principle, are intended for persons earning about 21/- per week, and have cost the Council on an average £80 a room, a sum very considerably beyond the average usually allowed for such dwellings. The work

is being most thoroughly carried out, and there can be no doubt that very shortly one of the most wretched slums will have given place to dwellings of a most satisfactory nature.

ASSOCIATED DWELLINGS. Blocks of the second type are also to be erected, in which on the score of cheapness the sculleries and w.c.'s are used in common. The amount of accommodation provided resembles the dwellings we have just described.

The dwellings are entered from a corridor; and to each floor sculleries are provided with a sufficient number of sinks, also water-closets for the use of women and children. Dust shoots are provided as before. It is probable that a central laundry will be erected for the use of the tenants. The dwellings are not to be compared with the self-contained tenements we have described, but where cheapness is important, in order to make provision for the *very poor*, nothing better could be desired.

The whole of the Boundary Street scheme is estimated to cost a little over one million sterling.

In London very many Blocks have been provided for the working classes, both by private funds and public companies. As we shall yet see, the invested capital amounts to many millions, and the annual returns have been highly satisfactory. Great diversity of type exists, but consideration of space will only permit us to briefly describe some of the best known as well as most satisfactory dwellings.

The Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes own many excellent blocks, of which we might especially mention the Gatliff Buildings, Commercial Road, Pimlico, and the Farringdon Road

Buildings. The former form three sides of a square, and are five storeys high. The balconies are approached by two staircases. For the most part two rooms are provided, though in some cases there is only one large room. One water-closet and a sink are provided for each couple of dwellings, and are situated in the passage between the balcony and the entrance doors of the tenements.

The Farringdon Road Buildings (fig. III) have been erected on the "separate staircase" system, and are six storeys high. On the ground floor are ten good shops. The houses are divided into couples by through passages and staircases, which materially assist ventilation and admirably provide for isolation. Tenements of two, three, and four rooms are provided, while many of the living-rooms have bed-recesses. To each dwelling is supplied a scullery with a boiler, also a ventilated pantry. The w.c. is entered from the lobby, each tenant having separate accommodation. This building has been financially a great success, an average dividend of 6 p.c. being secured.

The Blocks owned by the Peabody Donation Fund are also erected on the "separate staircase" system, the tenements being entered from internal landings. The sanitary accommodation is usually held in common by several tenements.

The Improved Industrial Dwellings Company have provided buildings of a very high class. Each tenement is entered from a separate staircase through a lobby with which are connected a water-closet and scullery. In many cases laundries with drying-grounds are provided on the flat roofs. Ample spaces exist around the dwellings, affording in many cases splendid playgrounds for the children. In recent buildings great attention has been paid to the exteriors, which have been arranged in such an artistic

manner, that it appears difficult at first sight to imagine them to be purely workmen's dwellings. This company, as we shall see, has been most successful, and the buildings are deservedly popular.

In the "Midhope Dwellings" (fig. IV) situated in Gray's Inn Road, the East End Dwellings Company have provided very convenient tenements at very low rentals. This company owns several other Blocks, notably the new buildings at Stepney Green, in which the accommodation exceeds anything hitherto provided. The Midhope Buildings are erected on a combination of the balcony and internal staircase principle. A back balcony is approached by an open staircase, and here two water-closets, a sink and a dust-shoot are provided for the use of each flat. All the properties of this Company have been very successful, and they are at present erecting a further extension on a site near King's Cross.

In Kennington Road, South Lambeth, a large square of property, covering almost an acre of ground, is owned by the South London Dwellings Company Limited (figs. V, VI, VII). Blocks five storeys high occupy two sides of the square, the remaining two being covered with two-storey cottages. The external appearance of this Block is exceedingly imposing, and reflects the greatest credit upon the architect, Mr. E. Hoole, who has designed a really handsome building. Large shops occupy the ground floor, with a large coffee tavern at the corner. These have been found to be a great success. The dwellings are entered from balconies, and consist of not more than four rooms. The water-closets are all arranged together off the staircase landings.

The roof is flat, and serves as a drying ground, the laundries being built at the angles. This Company was

founded by Miss Cons, who has long been associated with Miss Octavia Hill in work amongst the poor. This lady holds the position of managing directress, and much of the success of this company is due to her.

The Artizans', Labourers' and General Dwellings Company own many blocks, of which probably the Portman Buildings, Lisson Grove N.W., are the best example. Erected at a cost of over £60,000 they comprise in all 287 tenements, 641 rooms and 17 shops. Of the four Blocks, the outer ones facing Lisson Grove, and Broadley Street, are seven storeys high, the two inner ones being only six storeys in height. The blocks are further sub-divided into sections; the ten rooms on each floor are divided into four tenements; two of two rooms, and two of three rooms. Each section has a separate staircase fireproof and abundantly lighted and giving access to the different tenements. Each floor is provided with two w.c.'s, two sinks, a commodious washhouse, and two dust-shoots. A bath is placed in the washhouse. The buildings are fireproof throughout, and have been erected in the best possible style. One section is devoted to tenements for working women; a living-room, bedroom and larder etc. being provided for each tenant. The rents, which include the use of the washhouse, bath, etc., vary from 2/6 to 7/-, the average being 2/6 per room. This Company owns several Blocks, and has been very successful; though their work lies more in the direction of estates, such as the Noel Park Property, already described.

The Victoria Dwellings Association Limited have also provided Blocks, notably those at Battersea Park, and the Stanhope Buildings, Southwark. The buildings have all been erected in the best style, in fact this company has made the mistake—if mistake it can be called—of building too well.

In the Metropolis, besides those we have mentioned, many excellent blocks exist; in fact, in no other town or city can the block system be studied to such advantage. It is to be feared, however, that many of the model blocks are by no means what could be desired. Mr. Charles Booth in his book on the "Life and Labour of the People" has criticized most severely many of these dwellings. No doubt much of this criticism has been well deserved, and has already, we are inclined to believe, borne good fruit. It has been more and more recognized that special precautions must be taken, and special requirements satisfied, if block dwellings are satisfactorily to fulfil their object.

Many admirable blocks are to be found in other towns, though the usually lower value of the land accounts for the fact that the system has not been more generally employed.

In Liverpool there are several blocks, of which the Victoria Square Dwellings (fig. VIII) are probably the most important. These blocks were erected at a cost of about £70,000, and are all finished in a very elaborate manner. The tenements are entered from internal corridors, and laundry, scullery, and water-closet accommodation are used in common. The rentals vary from 5/6 for three rooms to 2/6 for a single room, and are higher than is desirable, owing to the expensive way in which the blocks are finished. On this account it has been found necessary to erect dwellings of a cheaper character.

In Manchester there are several block buildings, and the Corporation are at present dealing with four large areas. On two of these, the Oldham Road and the Pollard Street areas, dwellings are now in process of erection. They are upon a design similar to that of the

Gatliff Buildings, London, and on the former area consist of 16 shops, 246 double and 48 single tenements. It is intended to provide accommodation for 1270 persons, rather more than the total number displaced. The dwellings are estimated to cost about £51,000.

On the Pollard Street area, 130 double and 5 single tenements are being erected, to accommodate 660 persons, at an estimated cost of £19,000.

In the adjoining borough of Salford, there are rapidly nearing completion (some indeed are already occupied), several very complete Blocks of dwellings. Great care was taken by the Corporation Committee in charge of the scheme to obtain the best possible results. Many most excellent designs were entered for competition; the first position being ultimately awarded to Mr. W. Walter Sharp, Architect, Manchester. The conditions required to be satisfied were as follow:—Buildings not to exceed three storeys; about 80 tenements of not less than two rooms each; each with through-ventilation from back to front; an entrance towards, or in full view of the street or court; a w.c. and dust-shoot to each tenement; a washing boiler, etc., or joint use of one. Cost of buildings not to exceed £10,000.

The selected design (fig. IX) provides 69 two-room dwellings; entrance to which is effected by staircases, leading to isolated balconies, on which are the entrance doors of the houses. Each living room is about 14½ feet by 13½ feet; the bedrooms being 13½ feet by 9 feet. The sculleries are all fitted with a slopstone, etc., and are 5 feet 4 inches by 5 feet. The w.c. and dust-shoot are reached through a small covered yard. The storeys are each 9 feet 3 inches high. A washhouse 13½ feet by 7 feet is provided on each flat for the use of about six

tenants. The blocks have been most carefully constructed, and the average cost per dwelling has been about £147.

In Edinburgh many blocks of tenements have been erected, as well by the Corporation as by public companies. Of the former the Rosemount and West Port dwellings are perhaps the best known. The former consist of three-room tenements; the latter of single or two-room dwellings. They are all arranged on the isolated balcony system, and are four storeys high. The cost of the Rosemount Buildings was £12,500. Many of the blocks erected by companies are deserving of mention, especially those of the Edinburgh Co-operative Building Company at Abbey Hill.

In Glasgow great improvements have been effected under the Local Acts of 1866 and 1871, and many imposing blocks have been substituted for wretched slums, which have been cleared away. The action of the Corporation has been largely supplemented by private effort, more than £4,000,000 having been expended in providing accommodation for the working classes. In Glasgow, the accommodation is generally of a very satisfactory nature, despite the very close packing that prevails.

Many other towns possess dwellings of this class, though none sufficiently remarkable to require separate description, except perhaps those of Barrow-in-Furness (fig. X). These dwellings are admirable, and the accommodation is well arranged. Each tenement of two or three rooms is provided with a separate scullery containing a copper, and on an open balcony is a w.c.

On the continent, particularly in France, many most excellent blocks of tenements exist. For the most part

they are the property of public companies, and as such have been fairly successful. In design they resemble, more or less closely, those we have described, though taken as a whole they are not so uniformly satisfactory.

Before quitting this subject we would urge that provision should be made for storage rooms, which could be let at a moderate rental to the tenants. Many of the people inhabiting this class of property,—hawkers and the like,—require such accommodation, and are often, for want of better, compelled to use for this purpose the rooms in which they live. This may not merely be a nuisance to the other tenants, but is frequently very prejudicial to health. These storage rooms could conveniently be provided in the basement, where such is not intended for storage or warehousing on a larger scale. In the same way stabling accommodation and sheds for barrows and the like are indispensable, and as the existing accommodation of this description is usually most unsanitary, it is desirable, if possible, that some provision should be made to meet the wants of costermongers, hawkers, cabmen, and others similarly engaged.

With regard to the management of Block Dwellings, it is certainly true that much of their success depends upon the administration. To each block a responsible manager should be appointed, who in addition to his salary will be provided with free use of rooms, etc. These should be so situated as to enable him to have direct control over the tenants. In addition to regular inspection of the property and the collection of the rents, all applications for rooms should be made to him. A register should be kept of all complaints made by the tenants, of defects or damage noticed by himself. Under his control should be

placed all common rooms and laundries, in the management of the latter the assistance of a wife would prove very advantageous. It is usually possible to obtain for such a post someone who would be able to do any trifling repairs that might be needed, and thus assist to reduce the working expenses. In some Blocks the management has been undertaken by a lady, who has resided near to the dwellings; and very beneficial results have accrued. A notable instance is the excellent management of the South London Dwellings Company's premises by Miss Cons. Her friendly encouragement and kindly treatment of the tenants have done much towards the success of this undertaking. Whatever system is adopted, much will ultimately depend upon the control exercised. Firm discipline must be maintained, for without it tenants will not only be careless in the matter of rent, but careless and destructive of the property.

In the majority of cases, codes of rules have been drawn up for the regulation of these Dwellings, by which tenants must agree to be bound. Those of the Peabody Buildings we print in an Appendix, and to them little objection can be taken. It is certain that these buildings must indeed be "model dwellings," if these regulations are successfully enforced. Indeed it has been well said, that residence in the Peabody Buildings is an undeniable certificate of character. In the dwellings of the poorer classes it may not be possible to attain such a high standard, this knowledge, however, should not interfere with the attempt.

CHAPTER XI

MODEL LODGING HOUSES

A VERY large section of the community knows no other home than that afforded by the common lodging-houses of our large towns and cities. This section includes a very considerable proportion of single men and women, who, either on account of the precarious nature of their work, or the desire for the society which such a lodging provides, make no provision of a more permanent nature. As the places of work and the wages earned vary from time to time, so the situation and the character of their lodging change. Moreover, a very large proportion are "tramps", whose course is from one centre to another, and whose *hôtel* is the common lodging-house, or very often the workhouse ward or tramp cell. Of the married people with families, who use the accommodation of the "padden ken", by far the greater proportion belong to the tramp class. It seems almost as if the man whose work, however scanty, is fixed, strives to the very utmost to rear for his children something in the way of a home. Alas! we know how too often there is little to warrant the term. However, so long as there exists a "submerged tenth" of the community so long will the lodging-house be required, and it is essential to the moral and physical health of the people that such accommodation be

of the best possible nature with due attention to proper supervision.

Sections 70 to 89 of the Public Health Act, 1875, regulate common lodging-houses; and it is therein provided that no house shall be registered as a common lodging-house until it has been inspected and approved for the purpose by some officer of the Local Authority.

A licence may be refused to any one who does not produce a character signed by three inhabitant householders of the district, who shall be rated at £6 and upwards to the relief of the poor of the parish. The Local Authority are empowered to make bye-laws for the regulation of such houses, and at any time the Inspector of such Authority may have access to the premises.

Under the conditions imposed by these clauses, the licensed common lodging-houses of the present day exist, and any one who has any knowledge of these places will at once recognize that the regulations are enforced with a very great amount of elasticity. Bye-laws, even the model bye-laws of the Local Government Board, are continually evaded, and premises are licensed which are not only ill-adapted for the purpose, but in many cases, altogether unfit for human habitation. The provisions of the law contain no mention whatever as to the requirements that must be satisfied before a house can be deemed fit to be licensed; the sole decision is simply at the discretion of "*some* officer of the Local Authority." To supply this important omission the Local Government Board have issued a Memorandum, in which it is pointed out that "the house should possess, (1) the conditions of wholesomeness needed for dwelling houses in general; and (2) it should have further arrangements fitting it for its special

purpose of receiving a given number of lodgers." This circular goes on to give particulars as to drainage, closets or privies, water supply, ventilation, etc.

It is considered that one closet is sufficient accommodation for twenty lodgers.

Dealing with the most important question of the number for which the house and each sleeping room may be registered, it is pointed out that this will depend, partly upon the dimensions of the rooms, and their facilities for ventilation, by windows and chimneys, and partly upon the accommodations of other kinds.

"In rooms of ordinary construction to be used for sleeping, where there are the usual means of ventilation by windows and chimneys, about 300 cubic feet will be a proper standard of space to secure for each person; but in many rooms it will be right to appoint a larger space, and this can only be determined on inspection of the particular room. The house should possess kitchen and day-room accommodation apart from its bedrooms, and the sufficiency of this will have to be attended to." Whatever may be the basis on which licences are granted, the conditions must, in the majority of cases, be very generously interpreted by the inspecting officer, else the wretched hovels which are used for common lodging-houses would never satisfy the demands. Whilst a certain proportion of such houses, (in our experience a small one) are admirably conducted, clean and tidy, and offering a tolerable amount of comfort, a very large majority afford accommodation only of the vilest character. That houses of such a class are a great danger to health will readily be understood. In the district of which I am Medical Officer, there are no fewer than twenty-six common lodg-

ing-houses; and out of a total number of 843 cases removed to the Union Hospital from that district, no fewer than 455 were taken from these houses, and by far the greater proportion from those in the worst structural and sanitary condition. Apart altogether from considerations of health, the moral degradation of this class of house is such that it is extremely desirable that Local Authorities should make good and practical use of the powers they possess. Inspection should be less a matter of form, and more of a reality; and all offences should be rigorously dealt with. The present conditions even, bad as they are, could be much improved if greater care were exercised, not only as to the character of the houses but also as to that of the persons to whom these licences are granted.

Such action, however, must at the best be unsatisfactory. Local Authorities have, as we have already seen, ample powers under Part III of the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, to enable them to provide proper accommodation, and much has already been done with the most satisfactory results. It has been clearly shown that under proper management it is possible to receive a fair percentage upon the money invested; and in estimating the financial return it is necessary to remember, in addition to the actual dividend, the saving of the public money that is effected by the improved sanitary conditions, and in the application of the Poor law.

The Glasgow Corporation under the City Improvement Act have erected altogether seven lodging-houses at a total cost of £90,000. The first of these houses was opened in Portugal Street in October 1879, and cost £15,991, providing in all 308 beds. The nett average

annual income on the capital has been £4 8s. 10d, plus 1 p.c. sinking fund. The accommodation provided includes a large recreation room, and a small library. Lavatories are provided on the ground floor, as well as facilities for the washing and drying of clothes. The supervision is very strict, and great attention is paid to personal cleanliness. In Russell Street a lodging house has been provided for females, containing 94 beds; an accommodation which has been found to be inadequate. Of the other houses the Clyde Street lodging-house is perhaps the best known; it contains 324 beds and is undoubtedly the best of the seven. It has an imposing external appearance, and the internal arrangements are very satisfactory. In most of the dormitories the bunk-bed system has been adopted. Wooden partitions form small cabins, with just room to enter and undress. The bed is like the berth in a ship's cabin; and in each there is an upper and a lower berth, each communicating with its own cabin, but walled off from the neighbouring one. The cubic space allotted is about 400 cubic feet. The price per bed is with one sheet 3½d., and with two sheets 4½d. Ventilation is carefully provided for; and the whole building is heated with hot water pipes. In each of the lodging-houses a store is provided, at which the inmates can procure provisions at current prices.

So great has been the success of these houses, that after defraying all working expenses, and allowing 5 p.c. on the value of the site, and 1 p.c. on the total cost for depreciation, there is a balance sufficient to yield from 4 to 4½ per cent. on the outlay.

In Edinburgh the model Lodging-house Company Limited with a capital of £10,000 erected a lodging-house

in the Grass Market, which is most elegantly fitted up. The accommodation is certainly good, and here, as in Glasgow, the bunk system has been adopted. The Medical Officer of Health has, however, refused to license the house, declaring that under the bye-laws authorized by the Edinburgh Municipal and Police Act, 1879, the bunk system is illegal. Failing to obtain the necessary license they have evaded the law, which in Edinburgh defines a common lodging-house as "a place where beds are let at less than 6d. a night," by simply making the charge 6½d. a night. There is also another lodging-house in Edinburgh, the property of a company, which has paid good dividends on the money invested. In this, however, there are defects, though the accommodation is much superior to the average lodging-house.

In Leith a Model Lodging-house has recently been opened by the Corporation. It has been erected under the Town Improvement Scheme, and contains six dormitories, each with twenty-eight enclosed beds. The premises are heated and ventilated upon the most improved methods; and every attention has been paid to the sanitary arrangements of the closets and bathrooms. Cooking, dining and reading rooms are provided on the basement floor, together with provision for the washing and drying of clothes.

The Huddersfield Corporation, under the Labouring Classes Lodging-houses Act of 1851, erected a model lodging-house with accommodation for males, females and married couples, and containing a mechanics' home. It was further extended in 1878. The total cost up to 1890 amounted to £6392. In the year ending March 31st 1890, the expenditure amounted to £1072, but

£214 of this sum was absorbed by re-drainage and the replacing of the closets of old type by more modern ones. The income was £979, which would have allowed a profit of £121 but for the exceptional expenditure, or about 2 p.c. on the invested capital. Though not a very ambitious effort, it has nevertheless been the means of improving the condition of the common lodging-houses generally, the owners finding it necessary to effect improvements in order to compete with the Corporation house.

The London County Council have provided an excellent lodging-house in Parker Street, Drury Lane. It will accommodate 320 persons, at a charge of 6d. a night.* Excellent provision for cooking, washing of clothes, and bathing has been provided.

There are several other Model Lodging-houses in the Metropolis, which have been erected by public companies or private individuals. Lord Radstock with several friends opened in 1887 and 1890 two lodging-houses in Whitechapel, the first accommodating 500 persons. These are known as the Victoria Homes, and have been financially very successful. The profits are devoted to further extension of the work. These houses contain a large number of separate, single-bedded, small rooms, public dining rooms, separate dining and coffee rooms, smoking rooms, lavatories, baths, and hair-dressing room. The prices vary from 4d. to 9d. a night, according to the accommodation. Complete arrangements are made for the supply at reasonable charges of good wholesome food;

*The charge per night was originally 5d.; the extra penny has been added to raise the profit to 3 p.c. Under the original charge the house only paid 1½ p.c.

for 8d. a day, in addition to the bed-charge, a man can live well; for 1/- a day he can have all that he could desire. Everything that is possible is done to unite a maximum of comfort with a minimum of cost to the lodgers.

Lord Rowton has erected at Vauxhall a most elaborate building, which is probably one of the finest lodging-houses in existence. The total cost of the building was £25,000, but it must be remembered that the whole of the work has been done in the best possible style. The furnishing of each bedroom has cost about £3. The external appearance of the house is very striking, and the architects are to be congratulated upon their work. It affords accommodation for 470 men. On the ground-floor are provided, dining-room, smoking room, barber's shop and lavatories. In the dining room a bar is provided from which food of an excellent quality may be obtained at the lowest possible prices. The lavatory accommodation is excellent, for the sum of one penny an inmate can obtain a towel, a piece of soap, and the luxury of a hot or cold bath. A large reading room on the first floor is furnished with a varied collection of volumes. The cubicles are situated on the three upper floors; and in each there is a bedstead with wire-woven mattress, a hair mattress, a hair pillow, good bedclothes and a chair. Each dormitory is 10 feet high; the height of the partition walls separating the cubicles is about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The cubic air-space allowed for each person on the first floor is 455 cubic feet; on the second floor 441 cubic feet; while on the third floor where the ceiling is only 9 feet high 380 cubic feet of air-space is provided. The whole of the sanitary arrangements have been carried out with the strictest attention to detail, and leave nothing to be desired. The house is undoubtedly

one of the best in existence, and it is not surprising that its many advantages should have been readily appreciated by those for whom it is intended. This house is paying 6 p.c.

The Corporation of Salford have erected a lodging-house in Bloom Street (figs. XI, XII and XIII) to accommodate about 300 persons. The site was sold by the Improvement Scheme Committee to the Health Committee for a sum of £1550. The buildings consist of two main blocks, each five storeys high, separated by a one-storeyed entrance hall. The entrance hall is 30 feet wide and 36 feet long, roofed with Durolite. Offices for the use of the Managers are situated on either side of the main door. On the left side of the hall is situated the day room, 71 feet by 31 feet and 14 feet high; opening out of this room is the locker room, each locker bearing a number corresponding with the number of a cubicle in the dormitory. To the right of the entrance hall is the dining room, 48 feet by 31 feet, provided with grills and cooking ranges. The grocery shop, scullery, crockery store and kitchen are all in connection with this room. The kitchen is well provided with all necessary appliances of the most modern type. Attendants in charge of the crockery store and scullery provide the lodgers with a varied assortment of crockery made of enamelled steel. Passing through the hall to the rear of the block, a range of one storey buildings contain the lavatories, baths, conveniences and laundries. The arrangements here are complete, and every facility is provided to aid the personal cleanliness of the inmates. Above the ground floor the plan of the building resolves itself into two main blocks, with a connecting landing and staircase, the conveniences being detached on the pavilion system. The height of each storey is 12 feet, and the six

dormitories provide accommodation for 285 lodgers. The cubic space for each lodger is nearly 600 cubic feet, just twice the amount ordinarily allowed. The cubicle divisions are of sheet steel; and each cubicle is fitted with a spring mattress, a flock bed, blankets, sheets and quilt. In addition there are provided a chair, a locked box, a small mirror, and a comb. The whole building is as far as possible fire-proof, and an external iron fire-escape staircase has been provided for each dormitory. A small detached house has been erected for the Manager. The building cost £11,000 and the furnishings £2300; which together with the price of the site makes a total cost of £14,850. So far as can be ascertained the house has been a great success; since the first fortnight every bed has been occupied, at a charge of 4d. per night, or 2/- per week. The house has recently been inspected by a Local Government Board official who has described it as the best model lodging-house he has seen.

Many other towns have erected similar houses, or are at present doing so. Every town should possess such accommodation, more especially as a good percentage may be expected for the money thus invested. It must be remembered, however, that the class of house we have described is only within the reach of a certain section, and that cheaper accommodation must be provided for those in less fortunate circumstances.

The existing houses with careful alteration and improvement might provide for this class, though probably less elaborate buildings would, with careful management, make a fair return on the capital.

It is also important that houses should be erected for the use of single women. This has already been

done in Glasgow, and has been found to answer admirably. One of the greatest difficulties in connection with lodging houses, is due to the indiscriminate mixing of the sexes. With such provision, the dangers and disadvantages of the present system would be greatly reduced.

With regard to the requirements to be observed in the construction of these houses, the descriptions we have given of the best existing 'models' will suggest what is necessary. It is particularly desirable that the standard of cubic capacity per inmate should be raised, the present requirements in this respect being altogether inadequate.

It is sometimes objected that model lodging-houses are not popular with the classes for whom they are intended by reason of the strict regulations which are enforced. But the success of the existing houses undoubtedly shows that this cannot be so, save perhaps amongst those who find obedience to any law irksome, and whose lives are careless and dissolute.

CHAPTER XII

DETAILS OF CONSTRUCTION

Damp Prevention, Lighting, Ventilation, Drainage, &c.

THE details of building construction are undoubtedly better studied from any of the works which especially deal with this subject, and it is not desirable to attempt, within the limits at our disposal, to deal with more than those points of special importance which particularly affect those classes of property, with which we are now concerned. In an Appendix will be found a list of works, some of which treat of these matters in a popular manner, and which, without entering into difficult technical details, will be found to convey a fund of information, which will readily be comprehended even by those who have no previous knowledge of these matters.

The great point after all, and to this we have already referred, is that every care should be taken to secure the best possible materials, and that they should be used to the best advantage. Without such care model dwellings will indeed be models only in name, and little if at all better than those they are intended to replace. All the advantages of careful designing may be utterly lost if equal care be not taken in the construction. This truth cannot be too frequently reiterated, and as has been

already suggested it is particularly desirable that building regulations should be carefully revised and increased powers obtained to compel builders to use greater care in the construction of all dwelling houses. It is indeed to be feared that even the powers at present possessed by Authorities are not sufficiently enforced, and that inspection during the process of erection is in many cases little better than a farce.

One of the greatest dangers to health arises from dampness of the dwelling. Various forms of lung diseases, rheumatism, and the like are peculiarly associated with dampness of the soil under the house. In the case of dwellings erected on "made ground", where the level has been raised by refuse which usually contains a large proportion of organic matter, the exhalations arising from the gradual decomposition which takes place, may, if not prevented, enter the house and seriously affect the health of the inmates. To protect against these dangers is one of the first duties of the builder, and one too often neglected. The whole of the site should be carefully drained, and the removal of water thus provided for. In the case of "made ground" some years should be allowed to elapse before erecting any dwellings thereon, but even then such sites are not desirable. In addition to these precautions, the whole area on which the house stands should be carefully "sealed", *i.e.* covering it over with a thick layer of some impermeable substance. The best material for this purpose is cement concrete at least six inches thick. In order to prevent moisture rising from the foundations, every house should have at least one damp-proof course built in the walls a short distance above the level of the ground. These damp-

courses may be made of asphalte, stoneware, or of slates embedded in concrete. By these means the dangers we have mentioned may be effectually prevented.

It has been well said that windows are too frequently treated as a part of an architectural scheme, rather than for the practical purposes of lighting. Every room should be well lighted, and this will be accomplished by constructing windows of sufficient size, care being taken to allow for any obstruction caused by surrounding objects. All passages and staircases should be exceptionally treated in this respect. It has been well said that "dark corners are invariably dirty corners". The value of sunlight to the human economy cannot be over-estimated, and it behoves us to see that our dwellings are not inefficient in this respect.

Equally important is the question of ventilation, which in the houses of the poorer classes should be as perfect as possible. So frequently do we find a total disregard to the value of a good supply of fresh, wholesome air, that it is extremely desirable by whatever means possible there should be disseminated the knowledge of how best to maintain the same, and the dangers to be incurred by neglect. Anyone who is familiar with the houses of the poor knows the feeling that is experienced on entering one of their ill-ventilated tenements, and the unpleasant effects of even a short visit under such conditions. It is not to be wondered at that the effect upon the health of the people is so terribly manifest, and the disastrous results to their vigour and constitutions so readily apparent. With proper ventilation many of the existing houses could be rendered tolerably useful, the deficiency of cubic air-space being to some extent counterbalanced by the frequent changing of the air. It is important as far as possible

to place the regulation of the ventilation beyond the control of the tenant, as it is well known that the poorer classes are exceedingly prone to shut out the air, not merely by keeping the windows tightly closed, but even by blocking the chimneys and covering up the fireplaces. Deficient heating is largely responsible for this, fuel being saved at the expense of fresh air. It has been suggested to heat the rooms in the model dwellings for the poorest classes with hot-water pipes, and thus to some extent obviate the difficulty. Whatever methods may be adopted to promote ventilation, no opportunity should be lost of instilling into the minds of the people the value of such provisions, and the dangers arising from their abuse. A large variety of appliances have been designed for the purposes of ventilation, some of an extremely simple nature, while others are more elaborate. An extremely interesting description of the most useful apparatus will be found in the works to which we refer. Some provide for the admission of fresh air, others for the extraction of the impure, while in many very useful forms these two processes are combined. Whatever system may be adopted it is important that they should be regularly inspected in order to ascertain whether they are acting properly, and the tenants instructed to abstain from any improper usage whereby their efficiency might be destroyed.

Without special appliances two very useful methods of facilitating the entrance of pure air may be mentioned. In the first, by increasing the height of the lower beading of the internal sill to three inches, on raising the lower sash air can pass between the sashes and thus enter the room above the level of the occupants' heads. At the same

time no opening is caused at the level of the sill, thereby avoiding any discomfort which might be felt in the way of a draught. In the second, the same object is effected by boring holes in a vertical direction through the lower part of the frame of the upper sash. These simple and at the same time effective methods can be adopted without expense and will be found very useful.

It has been well said that "good drainage is the basis of domestic sanitation". Such being the case, is it not a matter of paramount importance that every care should be taken to ensure the efficiency of every portion of the system, more especially as it applies to the dwelling? If we consider for a single moment the undoubted connection which exists between certain most deadly diseases, such, for instance, as Typhoid Fever and Diphtheria and defective drainage, it will be apparent that it is almost impossible to overstate the dangers which may arise from neglect in this respect. In a singularly interesting work on *The Dangers to Health in our Own Houses*, Dr. Pridgin Teale says that "probably one-third at least of the incidental illness of the kingdom, and some of the fatal results of surgical operations in hospitals and private houses, are the direct result of drainage defects, and therefore *can* be, and *ought* to be prevented."

Without entering into detailed descriptions as to the best methods to be adopted to prevent any possibility of danger arising from defective arrangements, we would briefly summarize several points which require strict attention.

First, save under exceptional conditions no drains should be allowed to exist beneath the house. Where such cannot be avoided they should be embedded in a thick layer of concrete. They should be laid as nearly as possible in

straight lines, should not be too large, have an adequate fall to promote speedy removal of refuse, and have all joints carefully made and absolutely tight. They should be ventilated at the highest point by a pipe rising above the roof of the house, and should be disconnected from the main sewer by a siphon trap with an inspection chamber.

Secondly, all sinks, lavatories, and baths should be carefully trapped.

Thirdly, with regard to water-closet accommodation, three points should be carefully attended to. Whatever type may be adopted, the mechanism should be as simple as possible, by which liability to damage will be diminished; the pan should be self-cleansing; and complete arrangements made for the effectual flushing of the basin, and for the prevention of waste of water. The necessity of these provisions will be readily apparent, when we remember that they must be prepared to stand a great amount of rough usage, more especially in those dwellings intended for the very poor. Whatever care may be taken in the provision of perfect sanitary arrangements will be altogether lost without co-operation on the part of the tenant. It is therefore necessary that defaulting tenants, who abuse conveniences, and thus endanger not merely their own healths, but it may be the healths of a large number of their neighbours, should be severely dealt with. It is most essential, especially in large blocks, that regular inspection should be made and periodic flushings of all traps seen to. The use of disinfectants will materially increase the value of the latter.

All work in connection with the sanitary arrangements of the dwelling should be carefully executed, and subjected

to a thorough inspection before allowing tenants to enter. Tenants should themselves compel such examination before entering upon their tenancy; should they not do so they enter at their own risk. In no department may bad workmanship be attended by such disastrous results as may ensue either from ignorance or want of care in the carrying out of this important part of the construction of the dwelling.

Nothing is more important in the sanitary administration of a town, or to the householder than the question of the disposal of refuse. This consists for the most part of cinders and ashes, but too often various other forms of house-refuse are added. The addition of this organic matter, more especially in the hot season, materially adds to the danger, and may cause abominable nuisances. All organic refuse should be burnt, a fact which must be impressed not only on the working classes, but on all sections of the community. If this were done many of the difficulties and dangers in connection with refuse disposal would cease to exist.

It is particularly desirable that the open ashpit system should be abolished, it being abundantly proved that such is fraught with very considerable danger to health. It has more than once been shown that the prevalence of Typhoid Fever has been associated with this system, and that where different measures have been adopted the disease has in a great measure disappeared. By far the most satisfactory method is the provision of some portable receptacle, which can be frequently cleansed. This should be constructed of galvanized iron, with a handle, and perforated to prevent any liquids settling. In some cases fixed dustbins are provided; and where such exist it is

important they should not be fixed inside the dwelling, nor against the walls of the house, lest any liquids should percolate through.

All refuse should be removed before 8 o'clock in the morning, and care must be taken that none is spilt, and that the receptacle is thoroughly cleansed. The London County Council have fixed the morning limit at 10 o'clock for the months March to October, and 12 o'clock noon from November to February. These hours are by no means satisfactory, and should be altered.

What should be done with the refuse when collected is a problem which must have considerable interest to Local Authorities. The wholesale destruction of the collected matter is not to be desired, and in order to meet this many forms of Dust Destructors have been designed. The idea is in every case the same; first, that the heat produced may be utilized to some good end; and secondly, that the residue of ash and clinker may be disposed of at a price varying from 6d. to 3/- a ton. Many Municipal Authorities have adopted one form or another of these Destructors with considerable success. Certain it is that their experience warrants further developments, and much may yet be expected in this direction.

All that has been said concerning the duty of the tenants in the matter of sanitary conveniences applies equally strongly in the present case. Not only should they assist the Local Authority in carrying out the provisions of the bye-laws dealing with this matter, but they should not, as is often done, dispose of the refuse otherwise than in the properly constructed receptacle. I have known empty rooms used for this purpose, while passages and staircases, especially if badly lighted, are often defiled in this way.

It is also important that Local Authorities should avail themselves of their power to prevent deposits of filth on the pavement and street grates. At the same time it must be remembered that too often no other provision is made, or some unsuitable receptacle is supplied by the tenant. In an Appendix will be found some suggestions as to construction of Block Dwellings, dealing more particularly with these features which require special treatment.

CHAPTER XIII

PUBLIC TRUSTS AND COMPANIES

IN reviewing the work of Public Trusts and Limited Companies, the point we are anxious to drive home is the fact, that in the erection of Model Dwellings for the working class population a profitable investment for capital can be secured. In many ways Local Authorities are incurring such expenditure over public works, and the rates generally are increasing so steadily, that we must hesitate before placing additional burdens upon the already overburdened ratepayer. It is perfectly true that many Corporations have spent and are expending vast sums over improvement schemes, which will in after years no doubt recoup them for the money thus invested, but at the same time we must remember that the great obstacle to all such action is the indifference, if not actual hostility, on the part of those on whom the burden of rates must fall. At the best such corporate action is slow; the great lever of public opinion is but slowly moved. Therefore it is most desirable that wherever possible, independent action should be taken. We hear much to-day of unprofitable investments, and the difficulty in securing an outlet for capital; but in the provision of dwellings for the people, not only can a substantial profit be made, but a lasting boon

conferred on thousands of our fellow-creatures. That this has been most profitably carried out will be seen from a consideration of the work of various existing companies, and it is almost universally admitted that they have proved more successful in this work than public Authorities and certainly more so than Public Trusts. Probably this is mainly due to the sound commercial principle on which they work—the provision of healthy dwellings and such reasonable accommodation and comforts as are consistent with strict economy and remunerative returns.

Before passing on to consider the work of limited companies, we must mention two Public Trusts: the Peabody Donation Fund and the Guinness Trust.

THE PEABODY DONATION FUND was established by Mr. Peabody in 1862, and the total sum provided by that gentleman amounted to £500,000. To this has been added £640,904 6s. 11d., the rent and interest received, so that on December 31st 1894 the total Fund amounted to £1,140,904 6s. 11d., or, speaking roughly, the Fund has doubled itself in thirty years. The net gain for the year 1894 was £29,995 7s. 7d., a slight decrease on the previous year, attributable to the increase in the rates. The properties owned by the Fund include altogether some seventeen groups of buildings, a new block in Stamford Street having been lately opened. They comprise 11,261 rooms, besides bathrooms, laundries and lavatories. These rooms comprise 5073 separate tenements:—75 of four rooms; 1783 of three rooms; 2397 of two rooms; and 818 of one room. Since the end of the year, 48 additional dwellings, containing 110 rooms, have been occupied; bringing the total to 5121 dwellings, containing 11,371 rooms. These dwellings are occupied by 19,918 persons. The average weekly

earnings of the head of each family was £1 3s. 5d. The average rent of each dwelling was 4/9½ per week, and of each room 2/1½. The rent in every case includes free use of water, scullery, laundry and bathroom. The vital statistics of these dwellings are important, and have been carefully checked and confirmed at the General Register Office. The birth-rate for the year was 36·3 per 1000, or 6·3 per 1000 above that of all London for the same period. The death-rate, including 49 deaths in public institutions of inhabitants removed from these buildings was 15·7 per 1000, or 2·0 per 1000 lower than the average for all London. The infant mortality was 102·1 in each 1000 births, or 4·14 below that of London. These figures bear eloquent testimony to the healthy nature of the dwellings provided. Objection has been taken to the work of this Fund on the ground that the intentions of the founder have not been carried out, and that the benefits of the Fund are enjoyed by a class for whom they were not originally intended. In the report for the year 1881 the Trustees deal with these objections, and quote the words of the late Mr. Peabody himself in support of their action. As the report says, "it is clear that Mr. Peabody fully understood and personally sanctioned the two leading principles on which his Fund has, since its origin, been administered. First, that the buildings shall be occupied by tenants of the working classes, paying a reasonable rent; second, that the income thus obtained shall be applied to the construction from time to time of fresh buildings similar to those already existing, so that the operation of the Fund may admit of indefinite though gradual extension." While admitting that they have carried out the intentions of the generous Founder of the Fund,

we are in no wise speaking depreciatingly of the work, when we express the wish that such bequests were used to provide for that section of the poorer classes, whose incomes will not allow them to pay the increased rental that must be charged for better dwellings, and the housing of whom is really the pressing problem. In the administration of these buildings very stringent rules are enforced, which, however, do not appear to interfere with their popularity.

THE GUINNESS TRUST was founded in 1889 by Sir E. C. Guinness (Lord Iveagh), who gave the sum of £200,000 for the purpose of erecting dwellings for the working classes in London, and a sum of £50,000 to be used for the same purpose in Dublin. The London Fund has been further increased by the sum of £25,000, given by the Goldsmiths' Company in 1893, and at the end of 1894, with the addition of the income from rents and investments amounted to £260,641 19s. 8d. When the buildings in course of erection on the Vauxhall Square site, and in Page's Walk, Bermondsey, are completed, the total number will be six, providing 1879 separate dwellings, containing 3746 rooms, besides laundries, coster's sheds, etc. These dwellings are provided with baths, and for the use of the tenants boiling water is supplied from urns night and morning for making tea, as well as a constant hot-water supply for washing purposes. The club or common rooms are well supplied with papers, books, games, etc. On December 31st 1894, 5135 persons were living in the Trust Buildings. The average weekly earnings of each family were 19/5. The average weekly rent of each dwelling was 4/1½, and of each room 2/1½. This includes chimney-sweeping, and the use of venetian blinds, common room, baths, and hot-water supply.

The Dublin Fund, with the addition of rents and investments, now amounts to £57,415 os. 2d. Two buildings have been erected in Thomas Court and Kevin Street; the former containing 118 tenements comprising 133 rooms, and the latter 116 tenements with a total number of 221 rooms. At the end of 1894 there were 343 persons living in the Thomas Street block, and the Kevin Street buildings are now fully occupied. The average weekly earnings of each family was 14/7. The average weekly rent per dwelling was 2/-, and of each room 1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$.

THE EAST END DWELLINGS COMPANY LIMITED was founded in 1884 with a nominal capital of £200,000. The aim in view was the provision of dwellings for the poorest classes, and this has really been done. The properties of this Company comprise some eight buildings, in addition to which there are three new blocks in course of erection near King's Cross, which will be ready for occupation during the present year. The rents, in the Katherine Buildings, vary from 1/6 to 4/- or 5/- per dwelling. In the Lolesworth Buildings, Whitechapel, the rents vary from 1/6 to 2/6. The profit for the year ending February 1895 was £6962 19s. 3d., which with the balance brought forward from 1893 makes a total of £7640 17s. 1d. available for dividend. Out of this the Directors have carried £1024 to a Reserve Fund, which now amounts to £2500. Dividends have been declared at the rate of 4 p.c. per annum on Preference Shares, and 5 p.c. per annum on Ordinary Shares for the half year ending Dec. 31st 1894. These with the interim dividends at the same rate already paid, and after payment of Directors and Auditors fees, leave a balance of £741 8s. 9d. to be carried forward to the credit of the next account.

THE METROPOLITAN ASSOCIATION FOR IMPROVING THE DWELLINGS OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES own altogether fourteen properties, of which probably the best known are the Farringdon Buildings and the Gatliff Buildings. This Association, in addition to block dwellings, own suburban estates of detached cottages, which are let at a low rental, as compared with the general rule in London. The rents vary from 2/6 to 9/6, no attempt being made to deal with the very poor classes. Though it has been shown that this company have housed about 1200 persons to the acre, yet the vital statistics are extremely satisfactory. The death-rate, including 18 deaths in hospitals, was 15·37 per 1000, as against 21·3 per 1000 for the Metropolis. As regards the infant mortality, the deaths of children under 12 months were at the rate of 118 per 1000 births in these dwellings, and in the entire Metropolis the rate was 164 per 1000 births. These figures show very clearly that despite the density of population, the conditions are such as to be very favourable to the health of the tenants. Financially this Association has been uniformly successful. Last year a dividend of 4½ p.c. was declared, and the profit on each building for the year varied from 6½ p.c. to 2½ p.c. The lower rate of profit in the case of the Gatliff Buildings was due to heavy expenditure over structural and sanitary alterations.

THE SOUTH LONDON DWELLINGS COMPANY LIMITED has an authorized capital of £35,000, of which £31,300 was paid up at the end of 1893. For that year the balance, after paying all expenses was £1486 17s. od. out of which a dividend of 4 p.c. (free of income tax) was paid, leaving £234 17s. od. to be carried forward. These dwellings are under the able management of Miss Cons, to whom much

of the success is due. The earnings of the tenants vary from 18/- to 25/-, preference being given to those of the poorer classes. A bonus is given to tenants for regular and punctual payment of rent, which amounted for the year to £36 12s. 3d. The rents vary from 5/6 for two rooms to 11/- for four rooms. A few single rooms are provided at rentals from 2/6 to 4/-.

THE IMPROVED INDUSTRIAL DWELLINGS COMPANY LIMITED had a capital of £500,000 Stock and £105,000 deferred Shares of £1, all fully paid up. Under the chairmanship of Sir Sidney Waterlow, this company has been extremely successful, 5 p.c. dividend having been regularly paid on the invested capital. The freehold estates of the company consist of fourteen blocks in various parts of London. These comprise, 18 six-room tenements, 59 five-room tenements, 493 four-room tenements, 1501 three-room tenements, 239 two-room tenements, 28 single-room tenements, 20 shops and 32 workshops. The leasehold estates consist of 29 buildings, and comprise 26 six-room tenements, 320 five-room tenements, 1676 four-room tenements, 2944 three-room tenements, 374 two-room tenements, 28 single-rooms, 117 shops and 45 workshops. The total number of dwellings and shops under the control of the company is 6281 for the accommodation of about 31,000 persons. The average weekly earnings of the tenants is 28/-, from which it will be seen that the company does not profess to deal with the poorest classes. For the twelve months ending December 1894 the average death-rate was only 9.67 per 1000, and of these 3.56 were infants under one year of age. For the Metropolis the death-rate was 19.4 per 1000 in the corresponding period. These figures are particularly interesting when we remember

that the density of the population in the Company's estates average 727 persons to the acre, that in the Metropolis being 58 per acre. The buildings are known generally as "The Waterlow Buildings" and are scattered all over the Metropolis. They are well maintained, and strict supervision of the tenants is provided for. The average rent per room is $2/1\frac{1}{2}$ a week, all rents being paid in advance.

THE ARTIZANS', LABOURERS' AND GENERAL DWELLINGS COMPANY LIMITED was commenced with a nominal capital of £250,000; at the end of December 1894 it amounted to no less than £2,205,810, whilst the Reserve Fund totalled £134,298. The properties of the Company are very extensive, and include the Shaftesbury Park Estate, Battersea; the Queen's Park Estate, Harrow Road; the Noel Park Estate, Wood Green; and the Lingham Court Estate, Streatham. In addition to these estates, the company owns ten very excellent blocks, in various other parts of London.

The Shaftesbury Park Estate consists of $42\frac{1}{2}$ acres, 30 shops, 1,136 single rooms, 32 double houses, and one block of 22 tenements are provided. The gross income for 1894 was £25,702 13s. 8d. The irrecoverable arrears of rents were only £15 18s. od.

The Queen's Park Estate consists of 76 acres; there are 116 shops, 2073 single houses, 108 double houses and a public hall. The gross income was £59,745 8s. 6d.; the irrecoverable arrears of rent amounting to £56 19s. 6d.

The Noel Park estate of 100 acres, comprises 75 shops, 1056 single houses, 174 double houses, and 25 purchased shops and houses, covering in all about half the area. The rental for the year amounted to £32,223 8s. 11d. There is no doubt that this estate will be yet further developed,

more especially when the extensions at the Liverpool Street terminus of the Great Eastern Railway are completed, and additional cheap trains are provided.

The Lingham Court Estate of 66 acres is also rapidly being completed, and a large additional revenue therefrom will no doubt result.

All these estates have been most carefully laid out, model villages having in every instance been created. They certainly mark quite a distinctive feature in estate development.

The block buildings comprise 155 shops, 1467 tenements and 3495 rooms. The rents are based on an average of 2/6 per room, 7/- being charged for the three room tenements. This includes the use of bath, laundry, etc. The total sum of rentals for the year amounted to £32,417 12s. 8d.

This company receives money on deposit from the tenants, at the yearly rate of 2½ p.c. interest. The amount on deposit at the end of the year amounted to £101,567 8s. 7d.

The yearly dividend on the preference shares amounts to 4½ per cent.; on the ordinary shares 5 per cent. is paid, in both instances free of income-tax.

The Company owns property in Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham and Gosport, though we believe that they are endeavouring to dispose of these provincial properties, if they have not already done so.

The Victoria Dwellings Association Limited own several large blocks of buildings, which have been very successful. Amongst other agencies at work in the Metropolis providing accommodation for the working classes may be mentioned: the Marylebone Association for improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes; the National Dwell-

ings Society Limited; Miss Sharpe's Lever Street Buildings; the Strand Buildings Company; the Corporation of the City of London; the Columbia Square Model Dwellings; the Incorporated Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes; Miss Martineau's Bell Street Buildings; the Misses Shaen's Dwellings; and many other similar associations.

In the provinces, a few companies have done good work, and proved financially successful. It is difficult, however, to understand why so little has been done in this direction. That a good profit can be obtained is certain, more especially when we remember the uniform success of the various Metropolitan companies, which have had special difficulties to contend with, such indeed as will not readily be encountered elsewhere. We cannot refrain from expressing the hope, that by the action of public-minded men further extensions of this nature will be made, which will not merely prove profitable to the investors, but confer innumerable and lasting benefits upon the working classes of the country.

CHAPTER XIV

OPEN SPACES

THE late Mr. C. H. Pearson in his work on "National Life and Character" dealing with the evils of town life, sums up in an eloquent paragraph one side of the question which we are apt to overlook. "The dweller in a great city," he says, "is tending more and more to become a very small part of a very vast machine. It is not only that his daily work is less varied and makes less demands on resource and fertility of expedient than it did, but his whole horizon is narrowed. Put, on the one hand, the elevating influence of the State school, which has taken him through a primary reader series, and add, it may be, an occasional visit to the museum; and assume, on the other hand, what is becoming more and more a fact, that the artizan's daily walk from the house to the factory represents his knowledge of God's earth; that he has never wandered by the seaside, or in the woods; knows nothing such as village children know of life in the hedges and the farm-yard; never sees the dawn whiten and flush over heather, or has looked up at the stars except through an intervening veil of smoke and fog. Does any man dream that an excursion train, with its riotous mirth and luncheon baskets, and a few hours freedom to stand on

a pier or stroll through the streets of a country town can compensate to millions of human beings for nature quite shut out? What kind of children will those be who grow up where the best sanitary laws have restricted the intercourse with animals even more than is now customary in towns; who have never picked buttercups and daisies, who read in poems of the song of birds that they cannot hear, and of a beauty in the seasons which they only know by vicissitudes of hot and cold? Will not their eyes be dimmed for all sights but those which a shop window can afford? and will not their minds be the poorer by many bright memories which their mothers had?"

To this 'shutting out of nature' must be traced much of the depravity which exists amongst these classes. Is it to be wondered that under the conditions to be found in every slum, men's finer feelings should become blunted, and all love of beauty and of order finally disappear? Is it to be wondered that the women on whom so much of the burden falls should sink below the level of all womanly instinct and seldom rise to heights of wifely responsibility? Is it, above all, to be wondered at that the children, despite all the care expended on them, should become in turn that which their fathers and mothers were before them? Disastrous as this order of affairs is to the health and vigour of the people, the effect upon their character and lives is not one whit less serious. What the result as regards the former amounts to we have already seen, the latter cannot be measured by statistics or compassed by the recital of facts. Only those whose lives are spent amongst the close-packed masses of our slums know to what extent home life has become an impossibility to the toiling masses of the community.

We have already discussed the advantages and disadvantages of the decentralization and diffusion of the population of our large centres, and have reluctantly been forced to the conclusion that there is but little chance of any great practical result therefrom. There remains to us, however, the duty of rendering the existing conditions at least tolerable, and of striving to do something to brighten the lives, to stimulate the minds, and to stir the emotions of those who must still remain dwellers in our large towns and cities.

In dealing with the question of re-housing, we have laid great stress upon the provision of adequate space round the dwellings, and have pointed out the dangers of neglect, and the necessity for exceptional treatment in the case of large buildings in thickly populated districts. Such will reduce as nearly as possible to a minimum the danger to health, but cannot be supposed to compensate for the loss of nature's charms.

Much has already been done to provide open spaces for the recreation of the people, and it is in this way we may hope to supply, in some degree at least, the want we have defined.

Many Acts of Parliament exist by which Local Authorities are enabled to carry out such improvements. For the Metropolis, the Open Spaces Act of 1877 with the Amendment Acts of 1881 and 1890, the Disused Burial Grounds Act of 1884 with its amendments, and the London Council (General Powers) Act of 1890 contain ample powers for dealing with all matters relating to the provision and maintenance of open spaces. By the Open Spaces Act, 1887, the provisions of the former Acts were extended to the sanitary districts throughout England, Wales, and Ireland.

Under these enactments good work has been accomplished, though had not the action of Local Authorities been supplemented by the generosity of private individuals, the sum total must have appeared very small.

One shudders to think what must have been the conditions of life in our large towns and cities were it not for these open breathing spaces, which have, in one way or another, been provided for the health and recreation of the people; and nowhere is this feeling so deeply roused as in the Metropolis. Whatever yet remains to be accomplished in this direction, no one will deny the inexpressible feeling of delight and relief, when one exchanges the din and turmoil of the city's strife for the quiet and charm of many an old-time square or burial-ground.

London is indeed richly provided in this respect, and the good work accomplished by the older authorities is still further being extended under the County Council, which has already provided several notable additions, and is yet engaged on further extensions.

Much also has been accomplished by volunteer effort on the part of the Metropolitan Public Gardens Association, under the direction of the Earl of Meath and Mrs. Basil Holmes. This Association, since its establishment in 1882, has laid out or assisted in laying out many gardens and play-grounds for the use of the public; has given grants for seats for use in streets or open spaces; has secured the opening of the play-grounds belonging to the London School Board on Saturdays; has given grants for the formation and support of public gymnasia; has planted trees or given grants for the purpose in many thoroughfares and other sites; has opposed encroachments on many disused burial grounds, commons and open spaces; and

has in many other ways assisted in the formation and preservation of many useful recreation grounds. The advantages of such an association cannot be estimated, and the value of their work to the dwellers in the Metropolis cannot be too highly appreciated.

In provincial towns, principally through the generosity of private benefactors, public parks and recreation grounds have done much to preserve the health and vigour of the people, and to counteract the lowering influences of town-life.

In the country districts, operations have been principally directed towards the defence of rights to village greens and common lands. As a rule the nobility are very freely disposed to allow the privilege of inspecting their domains, and in this way all the principal 'show places' of the country are open to the pleasure and instruction of the people.

Undoubtedly the greatest problem in connection with the provision of open spaces is to be found in the fact, that where such are most needed—in the overcrowded slums and older portions of our towns and cities—is precisely where the greatest difficulty in providing them is encountered. We are apt to think that by the opening of parks and recreation grounds in the outlying districts, we have done all that is required, altogether forgetting the fact that there are many who will only on very special occasions be able to avail themselves of their advantages. What is wanted is that right down in our slums we should try to construct breathing spaces, where, however small, the green turf and bright flowers, the shady trees and splash of water, may re-awaken in the slum-dweller memories that have long been lost 'mid the dirt and filth, the roar and turmoil of his city life.

Much may be done by securing for this purpose any enclosed or deserted squares, disused graveyards, market places, or the remnants of the village green where such has become merged in the town. In all these ways the difficulty may be more or less overcome; though the need for more definite action is undeniable. In the various Improvement Schemes undertaken under the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, the opportunity should always be taken to make this provision. We are sometimes inclined to think that the obligation to re-house the larger proportion of those displaced might with great advantage be modified under certain conditions. In their Boundary Street Scheme, the London County Council have included a large circular open space, which will be suitably laid out, with a fountain or band-stand in the centre. From this open space the new streets will radiate, and it is desirable that somewhat of the same principle should be adopted as a part of other similar schemes.

In laying out these open spaces it is well to bear in mind, that in addition to the trimly kept ground, it is extremely desirable that due provision should be made for play-grounds. Much of the pleasure and certainly much of the advantage of our public grounds is lost through what we might term over-regulation. At every step we are confronted by the publication of some penalty for what is considered the misuse of these privileges; and tied down by law and bye-law, it is small wonder that the youth of our cities seem to care but little for our well-trimmed parks, and our faultlessly laid out pleasure grounds. It is a matter of great satisfaction to find an increasing disposition to provide for the wants of the young people, and we must bear in mind that it is on the children of our

slums and the dark places of our cities, that the heaviest measure of the burden falls. Whatever can be done to brighten the lives of the children is so much done towards the raising up of a better ordered condition of society. As the pressure becomes more intense, and as our towns and cities spread further from a centre, so proportionately do the grown-up lads find difficulty in the pursuit of those games which have always been the delight of our countrymen. It is gratifying to find the London County Council making provision for cricket pitches and football grounds on the lands they are devoting to the public pleasure. This has been done elsewhere, and should wherever possible be still further extended.

One of the brightest features of continental life are the many facilities for the amusement and recreation of the people in the public places and gardens. There the artisan can sit and enjoy the bright music, smoke his pipe, and drink his liquor, while his wife sips her coffee and the children play beneath the trees. Here for a while they forget the cares of life, and drink in the pure air, to return to the squalid court or dimly lit street refreshed and strengthened to begin anew the round of toil. How *we* need somewhat of this brightening influence, and what an incalculable boon to the toiling masses of our people! Is it to be wondered at that men seek their pleasure 'mid less pleasing surroundings, and that the bars and music-halls reap the benefit of hard earned wages? How little do our efforts seem to touch the very classes who most need these advantages, and how often do we speak as though they cannot appreciate anything beyond their coarse enjoyments! Have we ever thought that this is precisely because we have never gone right down amongst them, but rather

aimed at making such provisions for their recreation as though it was never intended that they should avail themselves thereof. Let us provide for them under such conditions as they are likely to feel *at home*, assured that once raised to a perception of something better and brighter, the time will come when they will not scruple to avail themselves of less accessible, though no doubt more truly enjoyable, advantages.

It is altogether impracticable to advocate the immediate re-modelling of our large centres; they have grown up almost imperceptibly, and often with but little thought of the future. In all new projects, however, it is possible to introduce improvements which will have great influence on the health and habits of our people. We have already seen some of the points which require attention. What an incalculable boon to the continental cities, notably Paris, are the fine wide open boulevards stretching in direct lines through the crowded centres, with their lines of waving trees, whose bright foliage does so much to relieve the dull monotony! It is certain that such works tend to a more even distribution of the population, apart from any other advantages they may possess.

In many other ways much that is distasteful in our large towns might be reduced to a minimum. Greater care in the scavenging would do much to brighten even the most unattractive areas, and in this respect we must acknowledge ourselves sadly deficient. Side streets are too often neglected, or only receive very irregular attention, and very often the pavement is of an unsatisfactory nature, the difficulty of cleansing being thereby increased. Much of this will no doubt be avoided by improved methods of paving, such as tar-asphalte, which can be

readily washed down, and has been found cheap and durable. Much of the dirty condition of our towns is due to the smoke nuisance, which, despite every remedial effort, still presents an exceedingly difficult problem.

One other matter has had a very considerable influence upon our town life, and must still continue to do so. The facilities which have been afforded by the various railway companies for cheap excursions have done much to supplement the efforts we have mentioned. True, there are disadvantages which must seriously weigh against the usefulness of such provisions, and the tedium of the journey under unfavourable conditions often more than counterbalances the otherwise healthy results. Still we must applaud and ever assist any movement, whether public or private, which has for its object the supply of those elements, which must go to make the lives of our town-dwellers purer and healthier.

CHAPTER XV

PROBLEMS OF THE FUTURE

WE have endeavoured as far as possible faithfully to present the many difficulties and obstacles that must be encountered in the course of any scheme for the better housing of the poorer classes of the community. If we have failed to do so, or have appeared unduly to advise action on certain lines, it must not be thought that we fail to recognize the discrepancies that exist between theory and practice in relation to this great question. No one who reads carefully the voluminous Report of the Royal Commission of 1884, or makes diligent study of the various Blue Books, etc., relating to this question, can fail to be struck as well by the magnitude of the problem as by the diversity of the conflicting interests at stake. Neither does it require actual residence in our slums to appreciate the complexity of the phases presented. Day by day fresh experiences drive home to us the reality of the need, and awaken us to a realization of the difficulties in the way of any successful effort; in point of fact only in proportion as we appreciate the former, does the magnitude of the latter become known to us.

In indicating, as we have sought to do, the lines on which our action must be moulded, it must be apparent

that there exists a class which little that we have suggested can touch, and for whom provisions such as we have advised are powerless, save indirectly, to benefit. It is for this portion of the community, perhaps more than any other, that some new provision must be made, not only in their interest but in the interest of the community at large. It is this "submerged tenth" that constitutes *the* problem of social reformers, not merely with regard to this housing question, but in relation to every phase of our social organization.

We have been careful to avoid all discussion of those aspects of the question which belong rather to the politico-social order, and have refrained as far as possible from considering the possibilities or practicabilities of socialism or any other "ism" that purports to make for a new order of society. We have preferred to consider what can be done under existing conditions, rather than to occupy our attention with what might be accomplished under any new social system. And having done so we are brought face to face with the all-absorbing problem,—the housing of the residuum. This, perhaps, of all others is *the* problem of the future, and it is difficult to under-estimate its bearing upon the many other social questions of the day.

We have seen that nearly fifty per cent of the population pay from one fourth to one half of the wages earned as rent, whereas it is generally conceded that the proportion of rent should not be more than one tenth to one seventh of the income. We have seen somewhat of the causes of these high rents, and it remains for us to consider, in the light of the rule above stated, what provision in the way of better houses will meet the requirements of the poorest classes, or rather what can be done to meet the possibilities of their incomes?

The rents of the model buildings we have described

have varied from 2/- to 2/6 per room, rising proportionately with the number of rooms occupied. It is generally conceded that 1/10 per room is in the Metropolis the lowest possible sum at which such accommodation can be provided; in the provinces, however, a further reduction is possible.

Now, adopting the classification of Mr. Charles Booth, and for our purpose we may accept it as correct, we find that the two classes, marked by him A and B, and even perhaps a third, C, require of us special consideration. We have already quoted his statements and figures with regard to these classes, and need therefore add but little to what has already been stated. Class A requires no further comment: their incomes cannot be estimated, and despite all efforts to the contrary, we are still unable to say exactly how they live. Class B depends upon casual earnings of less than 18/- a week, and it is this class which Mr. Charles Booth defines as "the crux of the social problem", and "the drift from other classes". The latter term is especially applicable, and is essentially true of the position which this section occupies in relation to those in a higher position. The transition from one to the other, from the higher to the lower, is so easy, and may depend upon so many circumstances beyond the control of the people themselves, that we cannot, when dealing more especially with class B, altogether neglect to consider the position of that immediately above it. It is well also to bear in mind, that this class cannot be represented by the term "paupers", but as Mr. Booth suggests they are rather the material from which paupers are made, just as class A, while not to be confounded with the criminal class of ordinary parlance, is undoubtedly the material from which criminals are made.

It is necessary to our purpose that we should have some idea as to the average amount of these intermittent earnings, though undoubtedly with great difficulty even an approximate estimate can be formed. According to the Report of the Royal Commission of 1884, the average weekly earnings of costermongers and hawkers, appear to be not more than 10/- to 12/-; those of the dock labourers only average 8/- to 9/- a week, while the wages of labourers, other than those engaged at the docks, are estimated to be about 16/- a week. These figures refer to the Metropolis, and appear to be rather above the averages elsewhere. From this we see, allowing one tenth of the income for rent, that we have a large class who cannot afford more than 9d. to 1/6 a week, and the difficulty in dealing with this portion of our population is the problem to which our attention must now be directed.

Preliminary objection may be taken to our estimate of the amount available for rent, and it may probably be pointed out that under the old conditions they are actually paying a higher proportion than we have suggested; To this we would reply that we cannot consider it desirable that the ratio of rent to income should be greater than one tenth; and that it would be well to discriminate between the rent charged and the sum actually obtained. With regard to the latter point, it is well known that the landlords consider themselves fortunate to receive three fourths of the amount charged, and in a very large proportion of cases do not receive more than one half. From our experience of life amongst this class of the population we are confident that our estimate may be taken as accurate. We must admit, however, that the provision of model dwellings would probably allow an

increased amount to be thus set aside, there being two ways at least in which a saving would be brought about. In the first place, residence in the old tenement houses entails certain expenses upon the tenants, such for instance as that for laundry accommodation; the charges paid to the public washhouse would thus be available for rent, in those cases where such provision is made. Secondly, what is exceedingly important to remember, improved conditions must of necessity have a beneficial effect upon the healths of the inmates, thereby preventing that continual loss of work to which we have already alluded. What these allowances would amount to we cannot of course estimate, but it is sufficient for our purpose to record the possibility of some amount of relief being thus obtained.

Having dealt with the means at the disposal of these portions of the community it remains for us to consider how the difficulties herein involved are to be met, at the same time bearing in mind the fact that their habits and mode of life materially increase the obstacles in the way of effective action.

The remedy suggested by Mr. Charles Booth for the difficulties arising in connection with class A is one which certainly does not commend itself to us. "Persistent dispersion," he says, "is the policy to be pursued by the State in the contest with them, for to scatter them is necessarily to place them under better influences. The chances for their children, especially, would be better; the hereditary taint less inevitable." So far as our experience goes, it is the migratory classes with whom we have the greatest difficulty, and this fact was most strongly expressed by the Royal Commission. We are strongly of

the opinion that some more positive action is required, and that better influences can be made to operate under very much more favourable conditions.

A very large proportion of this class will probably continue to seek their shelter in the lodging-houses. It is therefore important to bear in mind that what really is wanted is not so much the higher-priced accommodation, however useful such may be in its own sphere, but rather such comforts and sanitary surroundings as are compatible with a lower rate of charges. No doubt a great deal might be done by cheaper model lodging-houses, but it is to a better ordered system of common lodging-houses we must trust to relieve the greater portion of this burden.

Apart from stricter supervision as to the class of house used for this purpose, much greater care must be exercised over the management. Three points especially must be provided for.

1. No "deputy" should be permitted to be in charge of a lodging-house until he or she has satisfied the police as to character.

This is of the greatest importance; as it is usual to entrust to the "deputy" the sole charge of these houses, thus rendering of none effect the present regulations as to the character of the licensee.

2. No lodging house should be allowed to accommodate both men and women, except in the case of married couples.

3. A register should be kept of the lodgers using the house, in which particulars as to name, age, occupation and previous addresses should be entered.

By these means many of the most objectionable features of life in the common lodging-houses would be removed.

As we have already suggested when dealing with the

special features of Miss Octavia Hill's work, the old dwellings may, after careful remodelling, be used to house the classes to whom we are now more particularly referring. One of the most serious objections to the Block System of dwellings is that it is specially favourable to those abuses, which are unfortunately so peculiarly associated with the habits of the poorer classes. In that section of Mr. Booth's work which deals with Blocks, we have presented a picture of life under conditions which are most decidedly unattractive, and which show that something more than mere supervision is necessary to cope with this difficulty. We have noted how Miss Hill aims at the development of a higher standard of living amongst these people, and that in this direction she has been altogether successful. Replying to my enquiry as to what has actually been her experience after a long period of effort in this way, she writes: "The work has gone on steadily increasing for many years, and if it has changed in character, it is rather in the direction of there being less need to use the old houses as training-grounds in which the rougher tenants may be brought to a more decent and orderly manner of living, and more scope for the judicious management of well-planned modern dwellings. This change is being gradually brought about by the everywhere rising standard of living amongst working people."

Such testimony from so competent an authority must necessarily carry great weight, and certainly justifies us in expressing the belief that in this way the problem of the housing of the residuum loses much of its formidable character.

Elsewhere we have referred to the objections which have been taken to the administration of Funds, such, for instance, as the Peabody Donation Fund. Whatever opinion we

may have as to the fulfilment of the terms of the benefaction, we cannot ignore the fact that the poorest classes have not been able to avail themselves of the admirable accommodation provided. Mr. Gatliff in his evidence before the Royal Commission described these Funds as "unfair traders", and pointed out the fact that, though many of the sites of these buildings had been granted under specially favourable terms for the purpose of erecting dwellings for the working classes, no great difference existed between these rents and those of similar blocks erected by the various companies. We are distinctly of the opinion that such Funds should undertake the duty of providing for the very poorest. If they were content to accept only a small percentage for appropriation as a reserve fund, a material diminution in the rents would be possible. Private enterprise will not meet the case, and recourse must be had to philanthropic agencies or the public funds. We cannot but express the hope that the Peabody and other similar Funds may yet undertake this duty, feeling assured that in this way more credit will be done to the munificent benefactors than by appearing (at least) to enter into competition with commercial enterprises.

We have described more or less in detail the houses in process of erection by the London County Council, intended for the use of the poorest classes. It will be interesting to watch the working of this scheme, more particularly so far as relates to its commercial aspect. In estimating the probable result we must remember the special difficulties that we have enumerated as affecting such work in the Metropolis; and should the result be unsatisfactory as regards the return on capital, we should not be discouraged from further action. Should sites be obtained without

excessive cost, there is no reason why the rents should not be fixed within the reach of the poorest classes.

The type of building is naturally a matter of considerable difficulty, "associated dwellings" will probably only meet the requirements of a certain proportion of these people. It appears desirable that provision should be made for something between the common lodging-house and what is called the "artizan's" dwelling. The Glasgow Municipality, which can certainly claim the highest credit for enlightened and spirited action on all matters pertaining to this subject, are at present engaged in erecting a Family Home, which partakes somewhat of the form we have just roughly defined. The building will provide 176 dormitories, and it is proposed to charge 8d. a night for a room large enough for a man or woman with not more than three children. It is intended only for the use of widows or widowers with families. The children will be fed and taken care of during the day for the sum of 1/6 a head per week. This is an altogether novel experiment, and appears to us in every respect an admirable one, and capable of further extension. The Glasgow Corporation have no doubt satisfied themselves as to the possibility of securing a profit on the invested capital, and cannot be too highly praised for thus endeavouring to provide a long-felt want. It seems possible that such an arrangement might easily be extended for others than the persons above mentioned.

Another problem which must necessarily be dealt with in the near future, relates to the cost of demolitions necessary to the carrying out of any Improvement schemes. At present the burden falls entirely upon the ratepayers, and this constitutes a serious hindrance to

any such work. Stringent as are the terms upon which compensation is to be awarded, we have to admit that such Schemes involve a very considerable outlay, and any additional burdens in the shape of increased rates must not be lightly imposed. However much municipalities deserve to be called upon to pay for short-sighted legislation and defective administration, a proportion of the cost should certainly be borne by the ground landlord, through whose action a very large proportion of the existing disgraceful conditions have arisen. Reform of the law in this respect is certainly desirable.

We have dealt in preceding chapters with many considerations that must naturally be considered problems of the future. Reform of the building laws, special legislation as to block-dwellings, decided action with regard to back-to-back houses, the decentralization and diffusion of the population, the provision of facilities for artisans becoming the owners of their own houses, these and many others we have suggested must in the future call for earnest consideration, and in the solution of these difficult questions each of us will be called upon to take his part. To be able to do so effectively we must be familiar with the principles which must guide our action, and conversant with the conditions which exist. Without this, much of our effort must be misdirected and ill-timed, even if not altogether detrimental to the cause at stake. Let us endeavour to profit by the mistakes of the past, let our work be honest and our intentions true, and we may open up a brighter and better future to the toiling masses of our people.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES

LIST OF AUTHORITIES

THE literature dealing with this subject is so scattered, that a list of the principal works and papers relating thereto may prove useful.

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papers will be found—dealing with various phases of this question.

An enormous amount of information is contained in the yearly reports and prospectuses of the various Companies and Funds, to many of which we have alluded in the course of this work.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

PERCENTAGE OF OVERCROWDING IN THE LARGE TOWNS, BASED ON THE LAST CENSUS RETURNS

Gateshead	40 per cent.	Sheffield	11 per cent.
Newcastle-on-Tyne	35 " "	Liverpool	10 " "
Sunderland	32 " "	Manchester	8 " "
Plymouth	26 " "	Bristol	8 " "
Halifax	21 " "	Cardiff	4 " "
Bradford	20 " "	Nottingham	3 " "
London	19 " "	Derby	$2\frac{3}{4}$ " "
Leeds	16 " "	Leicester	$2\frac{1}{4}$ " "
Birmingham	14 " "	Portsmouth	$1\frac{3}{4}$ " "

APPENDIX B

THE HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES ACT, 1890

THE Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890 (53 and 54 Vict. c. 70) amends and consolidates the various Acts relating to this subject. All previous Acts are thereby repealed, with the exception of:—

45 and 46 Vict. c. 50. s. III Municipal Corporations Act 1882 (Sites for workmen's dwellings).

46 and 47 Vict. c. 60 Labourer's (Ireland) Act 1883.

48 and 49 Vict. c. 72. ss. 3, 7 to 9, and part of 10. Housing of the Working Classes Act 1885.

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53 and 54 Vict. c. 16. Working Classes Dwellings Act 1890.

The Act is divided into seven parts:—

1. Unhealthy areas.
2. Unhealthy dwelling-houses.
3. Working class Lodging-houses.
4. Supplemental.
5. Application of the Act to Scotland.
6. Application of the Act to Ireland.
7. Repeal and temporary provisions.

PART I gives Local Authorities power to deal with large

unhealthy areas, when such are brought to their notice. This portion of the Act does not apply to Rural Sanitary districts (s. 3). It can be put in force in the city of London, by the Commissioners of Sewers; in the County of London, by the County Council; and in the Urban Sanitary districts, by the Urban Sanitary Authority (schedule 1).

When official representation as to the unhealthiness of any district is made by the Medical Officer, the Local Authority shall prepare an Improvement Scheme, which is to be accompanied by maps, particulars and estimates. The scheme may include the whole, or part of the area, or any neighbouring lands; it may provide for the widening of any existing approaches to the unhealthy area, or otherwise for opening out the same for the purposes of ventilation or health. Provision must be made for the rehousing of those displaced, and for proper sanitary arrangements. The scheme must distinguish the lands to be taken compulsorily, and may provide for the carrying out of the same by the ground landlords, upon such terms as may be agreed upon between the Local Authority and such person (ss. 4, 6). If two or more Justices of the Peace acting within the district for which he acts as Medical Officer, or twelve or more ratepayers complain to the said Officer of the unhealthiness of any area, it is his duty to inspect the area, and make an official representation as to the facts, and whether, in his opinion, such an area is unhealthy or not (s. 5). When in any district twelve or more ratepayers have complained to the Medical Officer of Health, and he has made default or represented the district as healthy, they may appeal to the confirming authority (in the case of London a Secretary of State, for

an Urban Sanitary District the Local Government Board) who will, on security for cost being given, appoint a legally qualified medical man to report on the area. His report must then be transmitted to the Local Authority, who must act as if on an official representation (ss. 16—19).

When the improvement scheme is completed, it must be published during three consecutive weeks in September, October or November, and notice served upon the persons affected, "every owner or reputed owner, lessee or reputed lessee and occupier of any lands to be taken compulsorily." The section also contains instructions as to the issuing, posting and serving of the notices (s. 7). An order from the Local Government Board is then applied for; and if, after a local inquiry, the scheme is found satisfactory, a confirmatory Act of Parliament is then procured by the Local Government Board, after which the Local Authority may commence operations (s. 8). Section 15 provides for any modification of the original scheme.

If after an official representation the Local Authority refuse to make an Improvement Scheme, they must transmit the representation and their reasons for not acting upon it, to the confirming authority who may order a local inquiry to be held (s. 10). Section 11 makes provision for the accommodation of tenants displaced by the scheme. Every scheme in London must contain this provision, in Urban Sanitary districts this is not obligatory unless the confirming authority so require it.

Sections 12 to 15 contain the provisions for the execution of the scheme by the Local Authority; sections 20 to 23 deal with the acquisition of land and the all-important matter of compensation.

Section 21 provides that compensation shall be based

upon the fair market value at the time of valuation, and in forming the estimate, due regard is to be had to "the nature and the condition of the property and the probable duration of the buildings in their existing state, and to the state thereof, without any additional allowance in respect of the compulsory purchase." In addition deductions are to be made for existing nuisances:

1. for an enhanced value by being used for illegal purposes, or owing to overcrowding;
2. the bad state of repair in which the premises are found;
3. the property being unfit, and not reasonably capable of being made fit, for habitation.

Further no compensation is to be given by the arbitrator in respect of improvements made after the notice has been given of the carrying out of the Act.

Sections 24 and 25 provide for the expenses and borrowing.

PART II deals with unhealthy houses or obstructive buildings.

It is the duty of the Medical Officer of every district to inform the Local Authority of any house "so dangerous or injurious to health as to be unfit for human habitation", or which (α) "stops ventilation or otherwise makes or conduces to make such other buildings to be in a condition unfit for human habitation or dangerous or injurious to health; or (β) prevents proper measures from being carried into effect for remedying any nuisance injurious to health or other evils complained of in respect of such other dwellings." [ss. 30, 38 (1)]. Should four or more householders, living in the immediate neighbourhood, complain of the existence of an unhealthy house, it becomes the duty of the Medical Officer to inspect it, and to transmit to the Local Authority his opinion thereon, together with

the complaint made to him (s. 31). Further it is the duty of every Local Authority to cause to be made from time to time inspection of their district, with a view to ascertain whether any dwelling-house therein is in a state so dangerous or injurious to health as to be unfit for human habitation (s. 32 [1]). In the case of an Urban Sanitary Authority, should they decline or neglect to take proceedings within three months of the complaint of householders and the opinion of the Medical Officer thereon, those who signed the complaint may petition the Local Government Board for an inquiry, who may, after the holding of the inquiry, order proceedings under this part of the Act, which order shall be binding upon the Local Authority [s. 31 (2)].

Local Authorities then proceed to obtain a closing order, which is obtained by a summons to the owner or occupier to appear at the Petty Sessions to answer the complaint against him; and if the Court consider the complaint proven they may make an order prohibiting the use of the dwelling until it is in a condition fit for human habitation, and in addition may inflict a penalty not exceeding £20 (s. 35).

This order may be appealed against by the person aggrieved, at the Quarter Sessions; procedure under this section is regulated by the Summary Jurisdiction Act, 1879, and the Public Health Act London, 1891.

If the closing order remains determined, and the Local Authority consider sufficient steps are not being taken to render the dwelling fit for human habitation, and if the circumstances require it, they may pass a resolution that it is expedient to order the demolition of the building. Notice must be given to the owner of the time (not less

than one month after the serving of the notice) and place appointed for its consideration, in order that he may attend to state his objections to the demolition. If the Local Authority consider it necessary, they must order the demolition of the building, unless the owner undertakes to execute forthwith the necessary works (s. 33). Appeal against the demolition order may be made to the Quarter Sessions (s. 35). When a demolition order has been made, the owner shall within three months after service, proceed to take down and remove the building, and on failing to do so the Local Authority must carry out the order (s. 34).

When a closing order has been obtained, the Local Authority must give notice to the occupier to remove within seven days of receiving such notice. A penalty of £1 is incurred for every day he or she stays after the expiration of that time. Every tenant thus turned out is entitled to a reasonable allowance for expenses in removing, which must be ordered by the Court making the closing order. The Local Authority is authorized to give the allowance, recovering it as a civil debt from the owner of the dwelling-house (s. 32).

Where the owner has complied with the closing order, and made the dwelling fit for human habitation, he may apply to the Court which made the order to declare the house habitable, and they may make an order to this effect, from the date of which the house may again be inhabited (schedule 3).

Provision is made for a charge by way of an annuity to the owner on the completion of the works necessary to the making of a dwelling fit for habitation, and for the incidence of any such charge (ss. 36, 37).

If after receiving the report as to obstructive buildings in the course of procedure we have detailed, the Local Authority decide to proceed, they shall forward to the owner a copy of the representation, and the report as to the circumstances of the building, and the cost of pulling it down and acquiring the land; together with notice of the time and place appointed for the consideration thereof, and he may attend and state his objections. After hearing the same, the Local Authority may make an order, either allowing the objections or ordering the demolition of the obstructive building (s. 38). Such an order is subject to appeal as in the case of unhealthy houses. Provision is made for the purchasing of the land on which the building stands either compulsorily or by agreement, or under certain conditions it may be retained by the owner [s. 38 (4, 5)]. Provisions are also included as to compensation, betterment of neighbouring houses, appeal from arbitration, erection of new buildings, open spaces, and the dedication of the land as a highway or any other public place [s. 38 (6—12)].

When a demolition order has been made, and it appears to the Local Authority that it would be beneficial to the health of the inhabitants of the neighbouring houses if the area were used for all or any of the following purposes:

1. dedication as a highway or open space;
2. appropriated, sold, or let for the erection of dwellings for the working classes;
3. exchanged for other neighbouring land which is more suitable for the erection of such dwellings, and on exchange will be appropriated, sold, or let for such erection; or
4. where it appears that the condition of any such buildings is so prejudicial to health, that the demoli-

tion, or reconstruction and rearrangement of such buildings is necessary, and the site thereof is too small to be dealt with under Part I of this act, the Local Authority shall pass a resolution to the above effect and direct a scheme to be prepared for the improvement of such area. The notices must be published as under Section 7, and the scheme must be sanctioned by the Local Government Board, who may require the insertion of provision of dwelling accommodation for persons of the working classes displaced by the scheme (s. 40). If the lands are obtained by agreement, such order shall take effect without confirmation; if they do not so agree, a notice must be inserted in the London Gazette, and served on the owners of every part of the area [s. 39 (4)]. Any owners may, within three month after such publication, petition the Local Government Board against such order; and, if the petition is presented and not withdrawn, the order shall be provisional unless confirmed by act of Parliament. If the petition be not presented, or when presented is withdrawn, the order shall be confirmed by the Local Government Board [s. 39 (5, 6)].

Section 41 deals with the question of compensation under this part of the Act. Such compensation is to be settled by an arbitrator appointed and removable by the Local Government Board. The amount is to be assessed upon the fair market value of the dwellings at the time of arbitration; and the arbitrator must take into account "the nature and the condition of the property, and the probable duration of the buildings in their existing state, and to the state of repair thereof." On this point he must receive evidence to prove:—

1. that the rental of the dwelling-house was enhanced by reason of the same being used for illegal purposes, or being so overcrowded as to be dangerous or injurious to the health of the inmates; or
2. that the dwelling-house is in a state of defective sanitation, or is not in reasonably good repair; or
3. that the dwelling house is unfit, and not reasonably capable of being made fit, for human habitation.

On being satisfied by such evidence, the compensation shall, α , in the first case, so far as it is based on rental, be based on the rental which would have been obtainable if the dwelling-house was occupied for legal purposes, and only by the number of persons whom the dwelling house was under all the circumstances of the case fitted to accommodate, without such overcrowding as is dangerous or injurious to the health of the inmates;

β , shall in the second case, be the amount estimated as the value of the dwelling-house, if it had been put into a sanitary condition, or into reasonably good repair, after deducting the estimated expense of putting it into such condition or repair;

γ , shall in the third case be the value of the land, and of the materials thereon.

No additional allowance is to be made for the compulsory purchase.

When the Medical Officer of Health, or any inhabitant householders make a representation to any district board or vestry in the administrative County of London, or to the Local Board of Woolwich, or to any Rural Sanitary Authority respecting any dwelling house or obstructive building, and when a closing order has been made as respects any dwelling house, the District Authority must forward a

copy to the County Council, and shall from time to time report to the Council particulars of proceedings taken.

When the County Council consider proceedings should be taken, and after reasonable notice (at least a month), the District Authority have neglected to do so, the Council may pass a resolution to that effect, and the powers of the District Authority then become vested in the County Council, who may proceed. Any expense incurred, including compensation, being a simple contract debt on the part of the District Authority to the County Council (s. 45).

Sections 42 and 43 provide for expenses and borrowing. The expenses of action under this portion of the Act are to be defrayed out of the local rate; the money for the purchase or compensation may be borrowed in like manner, and subject to the like conditions, as for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the execution of such authority under the Public Health Acts. The Public Works Commissioners may, if they think fit, lend to any Local Authority the sums borrowed in pursuance of this part of the act.

PART III. The object of this portion of the Act is the provision of suitable houses and cottages, whether by the acquiring of land and erecting of buildings, or by the purchase of existing lodging houses (ss. 56, 57, 58, 59, 60).

The expression "lodging houses for the working classes" includes separate houses or cottages for the working classes, whether containing one or several tenements. The expression "cottage" may include a garden of not more than half an acre, provided the estimated annual value of such garden shall not exceed £3 (s. 53).

This portion may be adopted by Local Authorities. In the case of any Rural Sanitary district in England the adoption can only take place after the publication of a certificate to be obtained by application to the County Council of the County in which the district is situated (s. 55).

The Local Authority may erect such dwellings or convert already existing dwellings for the purpose. They may alter, enlarge, repair, and improve the same, and fit up, and furnish, and supply them with all requisite furniture, fittings and conveniences (s. 59). They may make bye-laws for the regulation of such houses; and fix reasonable rents for the same (s. 62, 61).

Except in the case of a lodging house which is occupied as a separate dwelling, the bye-laws must make sufficient provision for the several purposes expressed in the Sixth Schedule to this act. These are as follows:—

For securing that the lodging-houses shall be under the management and control of the officers, servants, or others appointed or employed in that behalf by the Local Authority.

For securing the due separation at night of men and boys above eight years old from women and girls.

For preventing damage, disturbance, interruption, and indecent and offensive language and behaviour and nuisances.

For determining the duties of the officers, servants and others appointed by the Local Authority.

After seven years or upwards, should the houses be considered unnecessary or too expensive to be kept up, the Local Authority may, with the consent of the Local Government Board, sell them. In the case of a Rural

Sanitary Authority the consent of the County Council must be obtained (s. 64).

Money for the purposes of this portion of the Act may be borrowed as under Part I. The Public Works Commissioners have power to advance money for the purposes of this portion, at a rate of interest not less than $3\frac{1}{8}$ per cent., and under certain conditions laid down in the section, to "any railway company or dock or harbour company, or any other company, society, or association, established for the purposes of constructing or improving, or of facilitating or encouraging the construction or improvement of dwellings of the working classes, or for trading or manufacturing purposes (in the course of whose business, or in the discharge of whose duties persons of the working classes are employed); or "any private person entitled to any land for an estate in fee simple, or for any term of years absolute, whereof not less than fifty years shall for the time being remain unexpired." Powers are also given to companies to erect dwellings for the accommodation of their workpeople; and to water and gas companies to supply water and gas either without charge or on such other favourable terms as they may think fit (ss. 68, 69). Provision is also made for the inspection of such houses by the officers of the Local Authority (s. 70). Any fine for the breach of any bye-law under this part of the act shall be paid to the credit of the funds out of which the expenses of this part of the act are defrayed (s. 71).

PART IV is supplemental and contains provisions of a general character referring to various matters.

They refer to the—

Letting of houses to the working classes (s. 75).

Keeping and auditing of accounts (s. 80).

Appointing of committees (s. 81).

Application of money received by the Local Authority for the sale of land previously acquired under this Act (s. 82).

Service of notices, etc., upon a Local Authority (s. 87).

Voting of members of the Local Authority personally interested (s. 88).

Punishment of offences and recovery of fines (s. 90).

The powers of the Act are to be cumulative (s. 91).

Section 75 provides protection for those who rent cottages, parts of houses, or single rooms. Everyone who lets a house or portion of a house, at a rateable value not exceeding £20 a year, is bound to have the same in a reasonable habitable state when the tenant goes in. Should any loss be incurred by the tenant, owing to the unsanitary state of the place, he can sue the landlord and recover damages.

Any interested person, voting as a member of the Local Authority upon any resolution or question under Part I or Part II of this Act, incurs a penalty not exceeding £50. The resolutions or proceedings are not invalidated by his so doing.

A penalty not exceeding £20 is incurred by obstructing the execution of this Act (s. 89).

PARTS V and VI relate to the application of the Act to Scotland and Ireland respectively. PART VII repeals all previous Acts, with the exception of those we have already mentioned.

Then follow seven Schedules relating to the working of the act.

THE SECOND SCHEDULE contains provisions with respect to the purchase and taking of lands in England otherwise

than by agreement, and otherwise amending the Lands Clauses Acts.

THE THIRD SCHEDULE consists of enactments applied for the purpose of proceedings for closing premises in England, Scotland and Ireland respectively.

APPENDIX C

RULES IN FORCE IN THE PEABODY BUILDINGS

1. No applications for rooms will be entertained unless every member of the applicant's family has been vaccinated, and in the case of those past childhood, re-vaccinated. The applicant must also agree to have any case of infectious disease occurring in his rooms removed to the proper Hospital.

2. The rents for the current week to be paid at the Superintendent's office, on Mondays, from 9 a.m. till 6 p.m.

3. No arrears of rent will be allowed.

4. The passages, steps, closets, lavatory and lavatory windows must be washed every Saturday, and swept every morning before 10 o'clock. This must be done by the tenants in turn.

5. Washing must be done only in the laundry. Tenants will not be permitted to use the laundries for the washing of any clothes but their own. No clothes shall be hung out.

6. No carpets, mats, etc., can be permitted to be beaten or shaken after 10 o'clock in the morning. Refuse must not be thrown from the doors or windows.

7. Tenants must pay all costs for the repairs, etc., of windows, keys, grates and boilers broken or damaged in their rooms.

8. Children will not be allowed to play on the stairs, in the passages or in the laundries.

9. Dogs must not be kept on the premises.

10. Tenants are required to distemper and whitewash their rooms at least once a year to the satisfaction of the Trustees or their Agents, but must not paper, paint or drive nails into the walls.

11. No tenant will be permitted to underlet or take in lodgers, or to keep a shop of any kind.

12. The acceptance of any gratuity by the Superintendent or Porters from Tenants or applicants for rooms will lead to their immediate dismissal.

13. Disorderly and intemperate Tenants will receive immediate notice to quit.

14. The gas will be turned off at 11 p.m.

15. Tenants are required to report to the Superintendent any Births, Deaths, or Infectious Diseases, such as Small Pox, Measles, Diphtheria, and Scarlet Fever, Typhoid and Typhus Fevers, occurring in their rooms. Any tenant not complying with this rule will receive notice to quit.

N.B. The Superintendent is particularly instructed to prevent overcrowding and improper accommodation.

APPENDIX D

SALFORD MODEL LODGING HOUSE. REGULATIONS TO BE OBSERVED BY LODGERS

1. Male lodgers only will be received into the House; the hours of admittance are between 6 a.m. and 11 p.m.

2. Persons of cleanly and respectable appearance only, and such as the Manager shall pass as apparently sober, free from disease or filth, and sound in mind, will be admitted into the House, and such lodgers will be admitted at the following charges, to be paid in advance, namely: 4d. a night, or 2/- per week.

3. No lodgers will be admitted to the day-room or kitchen until provided with a ticket, which can be procured from the Manager.

4. No credit will be given to any lodger, and no bed will be reserved which is not paid for by 7.30 p.m.

5. The Lodging House is closed and all lights put out at 11.30 p.m. on week-days, and at 10.30 p.m. on Sundays. The kitchen is closed every night at 9 p.m.

6. No lodger may remain in his bedroom after 8.30 a.m. on week-days or 9.30 a.m. on Sundays. A general "call-up" is given at 8 a.m. on week-days and 9 a.m. on Sundays. Those lodgers desirous of being called up at any hour during the night, should give their cubicle number and

time of rising to the attendant on going up to the dormitories.

7. No smoking is allowed on the stairs, or in the dormitories, or dining hall or kitchen.

8. Smokers and others must use the spittoons, and no one may spit on the floors.

9. No intoxicating liquors may be brought into the house. No gambling, quarrelling, profane or indecent language will be allowed, nor anything calculated to disturb the peace and good order of the House, or the comfort of the inmates, and anyone violating this rule will be expelled, and his ticket forfeited.

10. All property belonging to lodgers must be considered as under their own care; but each lodger may have a separate locker off the day-room on depositing sixpence, which deposit will be returned on re-delivery of the key.

Note. Attached to this is another key, which will unlock the box in the correspondingly-numbered cubicle. Bundles may be deposited with the Manager on payment of a small charge.

11. No lodger shall cut, write upon, or otherwise deface, spoil, or damage any of the walls, tables, forms, chairs, beds, or books of the House, or in any other manner injure the property thereof; or shall wilfully or wantonly create any nuisance, or make a dirt in any part of the establishment.

12. All preparation and cooking of food by lodgers shall be in such rotation and according to such directions and conditions as shall be from time to time given or imposed by the Manager.

13. Lodgers may have their clothing washed by the attendants on payment of a small charge; or may wash their own clothing in the public laundry free of charge.

14. All complaints must be made direct to the Manager.

APPENDIX E

SOME SPECIAL FEATURES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF BLOCK DWELLINGS

Fireproof character. In addition to what has been said in Chapter X, floors should be constructed of cement concrete on iron or steel joints, the flooring boards being laid upon beams resting upon the concrete. Wooden blocks may also be used for flooring.

All passages, closets and sculleries to be floored with cement concrete. Staircases may be made of the same material or of stone of hard quality.

Concrete cement formed of one part of good Portland cement to eight parts of clean ballast, sharp sand, or ground clinkers.

Walls. In all rooms the walls should be finished with a thin coating of cement, and colour washed rather than papered.

In sculleries, passages, staircases and the like the walls may be lined with glazed bricks; to reduce the cost they may only extend to dado height.

Woodwork. To be of good, well seasoned material, and as plain as possible. All mouldings and the like harbour dust and vermin.

Flat-roof. Best formed of cement concrete covered with two layers of asphalte, in which floor tiles are imbedded.

Proper "falls" and channels must be provided to remove all water as speedily as possible.

Windows should be casements. The disadvantages are more than counterbalanced by the fact that they are less liable to damage.

Fixtures, etc. These should all be of the most substantial nature, and as nearly indestructible as possible. All sinks should be of cast-iron. Fireplaces in the living-rooms must have a good-sized oven with an open grate. The system of steam ovens supplied from a central boiler possesses many advantages. It is maintained that the cost of working the latter would be about one-half that of the present system, though this would probably only obtain in blocks of very large proportions.

Refuse removal. Each set of dwellings on the upper floors should have a dust-shoot, leading to a bin on the ground floor, the size of which will vary according to the number of tenements and the frequency of cleansing. It is desirable that all refuse be removed daily, and it will be necessary to provide against the shoot being used for the deposit of liquids or any improper refuse. For the tenements on the ground floor proper portable receptacles should be provided.

Sanitary arrangements. Water-closets preferably of the "wash-out" type. Great care should be taken that all the fittings are of such strength as to stand rough usage. All soil-pipes to be placed outside the dwellings, properly ventilated, and disconnected from the main sewer by a siphon trap with an inspection chamber. In blocks of associated dwellings it is advisable to provide separate accommodation for the sexes.

Lighting and ventilation must be treated on the principles

laid down, always remembering the special difficulties in the case of block buildings. Particular care must be taken with all staircases and passages, and it is usually advisable to have all windows opening therein unglazed. Ventilating shafts should be provided, and all rooms fitted with some form of apparatus for this purpose.

Cross-lighting and cross-ventilation must be secured between the dwelling and all conveniences. Water-closets should be lighted by windows *constructed to open*. Ventilation should also be assisted by openings through the walls for the admission of fresh air.

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